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IOWA
HISTORICAL
LECTURES.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
IOWA CITY.

1892.

IOWA CITY, IOWA:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
1893.

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Iowa Historical Lectures

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STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.



AN INFORMAL organization was recognized by the Sixth General Assembly, January 28th, 1857, by an annual appropriation of five hundred dollars. The Eighth General Assembly, March 26th, 1860, repeated the appropriation of 1857, with the sole condition that the society be formed "in connection with, and under the auspices of, the State University."

November 6th, 1867, "The Iowa State Historical Society" was duly incorporated "for the purpose of collecting, embodying, arranging and preserving, in authentic form, a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary and other materials, illustrative of the history of the State of Iowa; to rescue from oblivion the memory of its early pioneers—to obtain and preserve narratives of their exploits, perils, and hardy adventures; to secure facts and statements relative to the history, genius and progress or decay of our Indian tribes; and also to exhibit faithfully the antiquities, the past and present resources of Iowa."

The act of incorporation designated the following officers:

President: Col. W. Penn Clark.

Vice-Presidents: Robert Hutchinson, E. Price, Judge W. E. Miller, Z. C. Luse, John L. Davis, Prof. T. S. Parvin.

Corresponding Secretary: Sanford W. Huff, M. D.

Recording Secretary: S. E. Paine.

Treasurer: Prof. H. G. Welton.

Librarian: C. Frank Clarke.

Curators: Col. S. C. Trowbridge, Hon. John P. Irish, Prof. N. R. Leonard, Wm. Vogt, M. D., F. H. Lee, James R. Hartsock, Samuel J. Hess, Frederick Lloyd, M. D., Wm. H.

Tuthill, N. H. Brainerd, Hon. G. W. McCleary, Henry Murray, M. D., Wm. Crum, W. C. Gaston, G. W. Dodder, M. W. Davis, Hon. George G. Wright, Gov. Ralph P. Lowe.

The term of office, at first for one year, was changed at a later date to two years, and of the eighteen curators nine are now elected by the Society and nine are appointed by the Governor. The business of the Society is virtually conducted by the elected curators.

The Twelfth General Assembly April 7th, 1868, made a special appropriation of three thousand dollars a year for the biennial period, and required "the delivery to the Society of eighty bound copies of all books and documents published by order of the State for the purpose of effecting exchanges with similar Societies in other States and for preservation in the library of the Society."

In later years the number of volumes thus placed at the disposal of the Society has been greatly reduced as the Legislature has provided for a wider distribution without increasing proportionately the number of copies published and bound.

January, 1870, the Society was compelled to seek suitable quarters for its library as the University authorities found themselves unable to spare the room. Additional expense was thrust upon the Society without any increase of the annual appropriation of five hundred dollars received since 1857.

The Eighteenth General Assembly increased the annual appropriation to one thousand dollars.

The Twenty-Fourth General Assembly made a special appropriation of five hundred dollars each year for two years for purposes of publication and binding.

COLLECTIONS.

1. A library consisting of United States and State publications; of historical publications of other States received in exchange; of valuable contributions by private individuals; of a few rare volumes to be obtained only by purchase; and of publications of the Smithsonian Institute, and of other

societies—the whole numbering over fifteen thousand volumes.

2. State newspaper files bound and numbering nine hundred volumes.

3. Battle Flags of Iowa Regiments, Confederate flags captured by Iowa regiments.

4. Museum—curiosities historic and otherwise, more than five thousand articles.

5. Photographs and sketches of prominent characters of Iowa—such as could be obtained by gift.

SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

1. Twelve volumes of the *Annals of Iowa*. The publication was suspended for want of funds the last of 1875.

2. January, 1885, the publication was resumed under the new title of *Iowa Historical Record* of which the seventh volume was completed October, 1891. Edition limited.

LECTURES.

1. Two lectures delivered previous to those published herewith—one by Hon. Henry Clay Dean, and one by Rev. Dr. William Salter.

At the biennial meeting of the Society June, 1891, it was determined to inaugurate courses of lectures during the winter months so far as the funds at our command would warrant. The first course consisted of four lectures given without compensation by residents of Iowa City.

1. *Prehistoric Iowa*, Prof. SAMUEL CALVIN, of the State University.

2. *Indian Tribes in Iowa*, J. L. PICKARD, President of the Society.

3. *The Louisiana Purchase*, C. M. HOBBY, M. D.

4. *The Introduction of the Common Law into Iowa*, E. MCCLAIN, LL.D., Chancellor Law Department of the State University.

PREHISTORIC IOWA.

BY PROFESSOR SAMUEL CALVIN, OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

Delivered December 1st, 1891.



THE subject assigned to me by the committee that arranged this course of lectures assumes that there was an Iowa before men began purposely to make historical records, and the assumption is not without ample justification. For long before men learned either to carve or write, here was Iowa. At least this beautiful tract of land that we now call Iowa was here. In the course of things it must have been here before men occupied it, before there was anyone, therefore, to witness, much less to record the ongoing of local events. Indeed it may easily be shown that Iowa's broad acres, "fair as a garden of the Lord," spread from river to river before a human foot had pressed the surface of the planet anywhere. And in those far-away times of which ordinary history in the nature of things can make no mention, seasons rolled by the same as now with all their attendant coming and going of generations of plants and animals. Summer suns shone much as they did in this year of grace, 1891. Spring brought its flowers and autumn its leafy glories. The struggle for life, which is as old as the appearance of life upon the world, was here yearly carried to the final issue. Man at last joined the struggle, and long before there were any historians, events of historical importance were enacted within the limits of Iowa.

You may say that all this sounds very well, but if there was a prehistoric Iowa, and if events that historians neither

witnessed nor recorded took place within its borders, how is it possible for us to know anything about them? There are records, be it remembered, that are not made by historians, not made by any human hands in many cases, or if so made are wholly independent of design or purpose to perpetuate a knowledge of what is taking place; and yet these records are as clear, as intelligible, as trustworthy, and convey information respecting events as significant and important as any that historian ever penned. To illustrate what I mean, and at the same time to elucidate the methods whereby records relating to prehistoric events have been made and are now deciphered, let us suppose the simple case, that a horse walks along some unfrequented path and leaves the prints of his feet in the yielding soil. No human eye we will suppose saw the animal as it walked along the path so that it is impossible to get direct human testimony concerning the event. Soon an intelligent person passing that way discovers the tracks. He wastes no time in debating the question whether those impressions in the clay are mere accidental freaks of nature. There is but one rational way to account for them and being a rational man he at once reaches the conclusion that an animal of the only kind that ever makes such tracks could alone be responsible for them. The direction in which the creature was going is very clearly told, whether it was walking or running is also recorded, and if a shoe had been lost the fact is expressed in unmistakable terms. The length of time since the animal passed may also be approximately known. The marks we will say are fresh; they were made since the last shower. The disturbed clay has dried but little since the tracks were made; they are less than an hour old. Thus may we have a record conveying information respecting a series of facts and circumstances that tells its story in a manner as clear, straight-forward and convincing as if it were supported by the testimony of a thousand human witnesses. The manner in which such a record is interpreted illustrates the methods of science in general. They are methods that

are the necessary outcome of trained observation and common sense applied to natural phenomena. They are methods based upon the belief that Nature's operations are uniform, and that all phenomena, relating to material things at least, must be referred to natural causes that are known to be competent to produce them.

When a beautifully finished arrow point is taken from the soil, the possibility of its being the result of accident, of the ordinary action of the forces of attrition and solution that shaped the pebbles with which it is associated, of the influence of the stars, or of some occult process of fermentation in the soil, or that it simply grew, or had always possessed the form we see and needed no becoming or fashioning, is not entertained for a moment. On the contrary, any person with the smallest possible degree of training in the observation of such objects, will at once refer it to the activity of the only agent known to be capable of producing articles requiring purposeful and skillful manipulation in their manufacture. It must be admitted after all that there may be persons who choose to believe that that arrow point was produced through the agency of unintelligent forces acting without purpose or design. If there be such person entertaining such belief, I know of no way by which he can be convinced to the contrary. No living person saw the object made. Nor has any person seen any person who saw any one who saw it made. We are wholly without human testimony in respect to its manufacture. Nevertheless science would assert in very positive terms that at some time in the past history of the world some human brain designed the object and some human hand fashioned it into shape. If hoof prints and arrow points were produced in different ways, by different agents, now in this way and now in that, sometimes shaping themselves spontaneously without any assignable cause, then there would be an end to making scientific deductions so far as they are concerned.

The arrow point may have been made in times usually called

prehistoric; but it is itself an historical record, though all undesigned for such purpose, and tells in unequivocal terms that the region had human occupants at the time it was made. At the same time it bears witness to the degree of civilization or uncivilization that these human occupants had reached. The state of manufactures among such people together with their mode of pursuing game and conducting warfare may at least be inferred. Thus the finding of a single genuine prehistoric arrow point may enable us to write up an important chapter in the history of a people that no historian ever saw, and concerning whose existence there is not even the shadow of a human tradition.

The recovery of the weapons of a prehistoric people sheds important light on their character and habits, but when, as is often possible, we may add the knowledge gained by exploration of their homes and hearths, their shrines and sepulchers, we are in a position to write up somewhat fully the portion of their history which deals with their daily occupations and their domestic life.

There are many records that tell of other facts than the mere presence of human occupants in a region such as Iowa. Vegetable remains for example preserved in peat bogs or in the mud that accumulated at the bottom of ancient ponds and lakes, enable us to reconstruct the prehistoric forests. With such vegetable remains are usually found bones of the animals that lived in the forests. Human weapons or human skeletons are often there too. And so from records preserved in peat bog and lake bed, science may rehabilitate in a general way the prehistoric landscapes, and may see them enlivened with multitudes of struggling creatures, man among the rest, all bent on accomplishing the two great objects for which living things below the higher planes of humanity seem to strive,—namely, “to eat and to escape being eaten.”

Not only may we restore the forests in the shadow of which prehistoric man lived, we may know the very size and habits of the animals that roamed through those forests; those that

prowled at night and those that sought their food in the open day; those the man chased and those from which in turn he fled; and we may go even farther and determine the climatic conditions under which all this assemblage of animal and plant life existed.

Need I say that the method by which science, after picking up such threads and fragments of history, is led to those confident conclusions to which it gives expression, is not anything that is peculiar to science? It is simply the method of *Zadig*, made famous by being quoted by Professor Huxley and turned so aptly to account in illustrating what he is pleased to call *Retrospective Prophecy as a Function of Science*.¹ It is based on the same assumptions which you and I employ in conducting our daily business. As pointed out so well by Huxley these same assumptions regulate the humblest domestic affairs as well as the great concerns of commerce and finance. They lie at the foundation of all our confidence in the truth of written history. They constitute the basis of our confidence too that there will be a to-morrow, in which men will have the same needs and, under the same circumstances, will perform the same acts as we observe or experience to-day. They are also the basis of our belief in a long succession of yesterdays reaching back for centuries beyond the limits of our individual experience. These assumptions take it for granted that the phenomena of nature, including the phenomena of the human mind, are now, and always have been, and always will be, controlled by unvarying laws; that in short the same things occur in the same order of succession under the same circumstances. Science differs from ordinary pursuits in the fact that it busies itself in accumulating by observation and experience a knowledge of natural events and of the circumstances under which these events take place.

Let us proceed then after this introduction, altogether too long, to set forth the conclusions to which we are led by

¹ *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XVII., p. 467.

applying Zadig's method to the interpretation of the records that deal with prehistoric Iowa. And at this point I feel greatly embarrassed with the question of where to begin. For choose what point of time I will I am immediately confronted with the fact that there stretches back beyond that time what, speaking with some license, may be called a series of geologic eternities during which events were taking place that contributed in greater or less degree to making Iowa what it is to-day.

The first information we have respecting prehistoric Iowa is derived from geologic records. These records, untampered with and unimpeachable, declare that for uncounted years Iowa, together with the whole great valley of the Mississippi, lay beneath the level of the sea, and so far as it was inhabited at all, marine forms of animals and plants were its only occupants. During these long years of submergence the rocky strata of Iowa, as well as of all the adjacent States, were successively accumulated as soft sediments on the sea bottom. Omitting the small area of Sioux Quartzite in Lyon county, the oldest strata in the State are the limestones and sandstones of the northeastern part of Iowa. These contain the record of a period of duration altogether incomprehensible.¹ Myriads of years, if not myriads of centuries, pass again and in the meantime the light colored limestones so well represented at Anamosa grow by imperceptible sedimentary accretions.² Other ages of similar duration drag on slowly into the lengthening past, but bring us only to the point at which the limestones and shales represented in Johnson county are completed.³ About this time a small portion of Iowa in the northeast becomes dry land, but all the region to the south and west of where we stand was still held under the dominion of the all-pervading sea. Odd-shaped fishes on one hand and relatives of ferns on the other mark the high-

¹ Cambrian and Lower Silurian strata.

² Upper Silurian strata.

³ Devonian strata.

est points reached in the evolution of animal and plant life. Another of those ages, to human comprehension limitless, but which to the mind of science divides up geologic time into enormous segments, wends slowly by, and the agents of sedimentation build up in slow succession the great crinoidal beds at Marshalltown, Burlington and Keokuk, together with the coal measures and associated strata of central, southern and southwestern Iowa.¹ Still Iowa and the rest of the world are without human occupants. Some progress is making, however. Not so much among plants, for among them nothing much better than ferns has been produced; but among animals we have at the close of this time some air-breathing creatures that deserve to rank with the crocodile and the alligator.

Soon after the completion of the coal measures the sea, which during the preceding ages had been gradually withdrawing to the south and west, left our whole State as a part of the growing continent, and it might seem that the discussion of prehistoric Iowa should begin at this point. But crocodiles and alligators are not especially adapted to cut what one might call dignified historic figures, and so the events relating to this portion of prehistoric time in Iowa may be left without further notice.

"The whirligig of time" may as a figure of speech, correctly typify the rapid mutations that take place in connection with human affairs, but it would be altogether inapt if applied to the stately movements of geologic periods. Geologic revolutions there were, but they would be better represented by the steady and majestic movements of the outer planets around the sun, or of the sun itself around the center to which it owes allegiance. After one or two more of these great revolutions, the world advanced to a condition in which birds had come to enliven the groves with their songs, and a few small rat-like creatures, related to the opossum of the

¹ Subcarboniferous or Mississippian strata and the Coal Measures representing the Carboniferous Age.

southern States, represented the highest type of vertebrates. There were some wonderfully formed reptiles too at this time, but any reference to them is aside from our purpose. About this time too there were forests trees much like those of our modern forests.¹ While all these things were developing out of conditions that existed at the close of the coal age, Iowa was dry land; but the sea again takes possession of at least the northwestern half of the State, and another geologic period goes by before the upward movement of the land carries the shore line out beyond our present borders.

And now with this upward movement Iowa is at length permanently disenthralled from the dominion of the sea. Forests of a very pronounced modern type take possession of the surface. Animals related to the dog, the wolf and the panther as well as to the deer, the camel, the ox and the horse unite with lizards and birds and bats and monkeys to impart a modern aspect to the assemblage of animals that occupied this latitude. The climate was that of southern Louisiana. The conditions were not inconsistent with the possibility of man's existence. They seem indeed to have been particularly favorable, and yet, so far as the records show, man at the beginning of this new period, was not only absent from Iowa, but was absent still in every quarter of the globe.

Let us note the course of events from this point on to the beginning of historic time a little more closely. For the sake of clearness we will follow the usage of geologists and call the era at which we have now arrived the *Tertiary*. During the Tertiary period then, as has been already said, Iowa was part of the land area that made up the half formed continent of North America. The drainage of the State must have been much the same as now, although the altitude above sea level was a few hundred feet less than at present.

¹ Compare the index to Lesquereux's *Cretaceous Flora*, Report of U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of the Territories, Vol. VI., with a list of genera in our modern forests.

The Mississippi river ran in a channel not far from the one it now occupies, and its waters were poured into a gulf that extended up as far as the mouth of the Ohio. The Missouri was a much shorter stream than at present because the region, now traversed by the Upper Missouri and its tributaries was occupied by a series of great lakes. Tertiary lakes occupied large parts of Nebraska and may have drained into the Missouri. Other Tertiary lakes were found in Utah and Nevada, but none, so far as has been discovered, existed in Iowa.

Now what have Nebraskan and Dakotan lake beds to do with prehistoric Iowa? Why simply this: The mud swept down from the adjacent slopes and settling on the bottom of the lakes covered up the leaves and branches of trees and the bones and teeth of animals. In this way we have laid away for perpetual preservation, samples so to speak of the various forms of life that occupied the lake shores at the time the sediments were accumulating. These old lakes have long been drained and the hardened sediments exposed to the action of the atmosphere and all the agents it sets in motion. That in some cases the lakes were filled to the surface with mud would be literally true. Modern streams are now cutting their way through the old mud beds. The surface of the sediments is undergoing continual degradation through the effects of erosion. The remains of the entombed animals and plants are being laid bare and little by little we are learning what they were. Such beds, remember, are the only places of any importance where records of Tertiary plants and animals were kept. From such only do we get information on which to base conclusions respecting Tertiary climate. Tertiary lake beds or Tertiary ocean beds are the volumes in which the records of Tertiary phenomena were inscribed. Now the conditions that prevailed in Nebraska and Dakota were not so unlike those that obtained here, so that in the absence of Tertiary lake beds in our own State we may turn with confidence to the records preserved in the old lakes of Nebraska and Dakota for information regarding Tertiary Iowa.

According to these records there were luxuriant forests in this latitude ranging west into what is now occupied by arid regions. Mingled with the more familiar oaks and poplars and hickory trees were the magnolia, the cinnamon, the fig and the palm. In northern Dakota and even away on into British America these subtropical forms were found growing on the slopes that drained into the Tertiary lakes. The southern cypress, in all probability adorned as is its present habit with pendent tassels and fringes of swaying gray moss, stood spectral like in all the great marshes even far north of the latitude of Iowa. At present we have two species of Sequoia, the big red woods or giant trees of California. One of these is confined to a few isolated points on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevadas, the other to the western side of the Coast Range. During the Tertiary there were numerous species, and these seem to have been very widely and generally distributed.¹

If the Tertiary forests seem strangely out of place in the latitude of Iowa, what shall we say of the animals that ranged through these forests in quest of food or shelter or concealment? At the beginning of the Tertiary the animal types were so different from those familiar to citizens of Iowa in this nineteenth century that any reference to them may well be omitted. Imagine, however, a series of geologic revolutions to pass with all their leisurely grandeur, sweeping successive groups and types of animals to extinction, and introducing others that, speaking generally, successively approximate our modern types in structure, and let us imagine ourselves at a point of time near the middle Tertiary. The animals are strange enough yet, but at length we have evidence of the existence of some that may at least be readily compared with the modern species.

¹ Consult Report on the U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of the Territories, Vol. VII., *The Tertiary Flora*, by Leo Lesquereux. See also Vol. VIII. of same series by same author.

To begin with there were creatures allied to the opossum, so nearly like the little marsupial of the south, that we might be justified in speaking of them as opossums. In our modern North American fauna we have but one species of this type. In the fauna of the middle Tertiary there were not less than twelve. Creatures that played the part of squirrels, busied themselves among the branches and foliage of the trees, while an army of small beavers were employed in cutting brush and making dams along all the smaller streams, and grovelling gophers burrowed in the soil. Among hoofed animals were some we might be permitted to call rhinoceroses, others were manifestly related to the South American tapir, and with these were curious creatures that may be looked upon as the proper predecessors if not the ancestors of the tribe of swine. There were also species related to the deer, there were other species that were almost camels or llamas, one group of species forshadowed the modern ox, and some erratic looking creatures with three toes and three hoofs on each foot pass themselves off as Tertiary horses. Among the curiosities of the time was a ruminating or a cud-chewing hog as described by Leidy, that combined in a single species characters that belong respectively to the hog, the camel and the deer. Carnivorous mammals were well represented by a host of dog-like prowlers that varied from the size of a small fox to creatures larger than the largest wolf. There was a whole family of short-jawed species that were intermediate between the dog and the panther, and possessed of cruel, sharp, trenchant teeth. *Nimravus* is the name given by Cope to one of them, the ancient progenitor of Nimrods, the mighty hunter of the middle Tertiary. There were also true cats or panthers, one of which, called *Machairodus*, is usually referred to by geologists as the *Saber-toothed Tiger*. The size of its skeleton and the flattened sharp-edged, saber-like canine teeth indicate an animal stronger and more cruel than the dreaded tiger of southern Asia. Secure amid the leafy branches and chattering defiance in the very face of the saber-tooth and all

his hungry kindred were groups of agile monkeys belonging to a number of species.¹

Such is an imperfect review of the forests and the fauna of this region during the Tertiary. Nothing has been said of the bright-winged birds that flitted back and forth in the open glades or amid the shadowy recesses, nor of certain larger birds with bones twice as strong as those of the ostrich and wholly unfitted for flight. Neither have we mentioned the curious turtles, nor the snakes, nor lizards that crawled and crept among the fallen leaves or basked in sunshine on some half submerged log or stone, nor can we describe the insects that furnished food for numerous bats, or left their bodies to be buried in accumulating amber.

I know that it is simply a groundless fancy but the picture that rises before me when I think of Tertiary Iowa is that of a fair land bathed in mellow sunshine and covered in whole or part with forests of tropical luxuriance. These forests give shelter to a marvellously diversified assemblage of animals endowed with equally diversified activities, but at the distance from which the scene is viewed, the animal activities are wholly unobtrusive, each of the multitudinous creatures accomplishing its purposes without haste, without worry, without noise. A dreamy stillness pervades the shimmering air. The gray moss droops listlessly from the bare arms of the bald cypress. The very branches and leaves of the foliage trees seem to be listening for sounds that never come. A somnolent land it seems that for untold centuries enjoys perpetual afternoon.

The real picture was doubtless very far from being as peaceful as my unchecked fancy paints it. Clouds alternated

¹ For descriptions and illustrations of Tertiary Mammals see papers of Prof. Leidy in *Smithsonian Contributions*, in Owen's *Report on the Geology of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota*, and in the publications of the Philadelphia Academy of Science. See also memoirs on the subject of the Tertiary Fauna in the reports of Hayden, King, and Powell of the U. S. Geological Survey. Important papers by Cope are found in the *American Naturalist*, and others by Marsh in *American Journal of Science*.

with sunshine, and storms at intervals swept across the face of the land. Animals waged fierce battles among themselves. Daily recurring hunger created perpetual unrest, and the ferocity of the carnivorous tribes begat in all the others an ever present fear, an unremitted vigilance.

In time the long sweep of geologic revolutions brings the Tertiary era to its close. Before it closes, however, animals have assumed more and more a modern aspect. For example there are one-toed horses that the casual observer might not readily distinguish from some of our wild species. The deer, wolf, bear, fox, rabbit, and a long list of others of the later Tertiary present only very slight differences from animals we call by corresponding names to-day.

From the beginning to the close of the Tertiary, as far as the records show, climatic conditions were practically uniform over long stretches of time. They seem also to have been uniform over regions embracing many degrees of latitude. There were Tertiary forests in southern Greenland in most respects similar to the forests of Dakota and Montana.

The Quaternary or Pleistocene era follows the Tertiary, and with its ushering in there begins a new and strange chapter in the history of Iowa. Previously Iowa had been basking in sunshine and revelling in all the luxuriance of tropical conditions. But now a change takes place whereby all climatic favors are withdrawn and the fair face of Iowa becomes a scene of unimaginable desolation. The climate is rigorous. Precipitation is copious. Snow falls during long, bleak, dreary winters, much beyond what can be melted in the short, cool summers; and so year by year, and century by century the snow is piled higher and higher until, by the pressure of its own weight and the freezing in its mass of percolating waters that come from summer rains or surface melting, it is converted into a solid sheet of glacier ice.

Looking at the records from this distance of time it seems as if the transition from Tertiary luxuriance to Quaternary desolation had been somewhat sudden. But the change must

have occupied thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of years. A few thousand years more or less do not count for much in geologic reckoning. Whatever the length of time employed, the change was as extreme and complete as that which one would experience, if transported to-day from southern Florida to central Greenland. Iowa was only a small part of the region in which similar changes occurred. The area reached from beyond the Missouri river to the Atlantic ocean, and from the latitude of St. Louis northward to the pole. Indeed the climate of the whole continent of North America underwent profound modification.

The history of Quaternary Iowa would begin therefore with a long period of transition during which the climate is gradually depressed, and plants and animals either suffer extinction or migrate year by year farther and farther south. The process of refrigeration goes on until, as already said, the piled up snows are compacted into glacier ice that covers Iowa with a mantle probably thousands of feet in thickness. One of the known properties of ice causes it, when in large masses, to behave like a viscous or semi-fluid body. It flows; flows as water flows, but much more slowly. Bodies of flowing ice are called glaciers. Glaciers always flow outward from the center of accumulation where the ice is thickest towards the thinner portions. These thinner parts are usually the margin of the ice sheet; the glacier terminus it may be called; for all glaciers that do not reach the sea end more or less abruptly at the point where equilibrium is established between the amount of ice flowing in, and the amount that is melted in the same region.

The great ice sheet that covered Iowa had its terminal margin at times south of St. Louis. But there were many oscillations in the severity of the cold and the amount of precipitation so that the margin would sometimes retreat and sometimes advance from century to century. Whether the margin retreated or advanced the great body of ice was perpetually moving outward from the center of accumulation,

grinding over the underlying rocks, crushing them into fragments and grinding the fragments often into finest powder. Fragments, frequently of enormous size, were caught in the lower portion of the flowing ice and carried bodily forward, dragging along over the rock strata of the surface traversed by the ice stream, grinding the strata into rock flour, and being themselves worn and planed and grooved on their lower surface. Slow as was the movement of the glaciers there was time enough to transport some erratic fragments from native ledges in British America and strew them broadcast over the surface of Iowa. All the granitic boulders, and all boulders of crystalline rocks of any kind, scattered over the surface of Iowa, were carried into the State from the north by means of the great Quaternary ice sheet. To be strictly correct I should use the last word in the plural and say ice-sheets. There is abundant evidence that Iowa was invaded by glaciers at least twice, and that the two glacial periods were separated from each other by a long interval of comparatively mild climate during which deglaciation laid bare the whole country probably as far north as Hudson Bay. It was during the first invasion that the ice flowed over the whole State, and beyond our southern boundary down to the latitude of St. Louis. During the second invasion the southern ice margin was exceedingly sinuous and irregular, but on the average its greatest southern extension did not reach beyond the middle of Iowa. The line of greatest advance is marked by a series of gravelly ridges and knolls that are very conspicuous in Cerro Gordo, Wright, Polk and some adjacent counties.¹

The melting of the glaciers was attended by a series of phenomena conspicuous among which were flooded rivers

¹ Consult Prof. Wright's *Ice Age in North America*; *The Driftless Area in the Upper Mississippi Valley* by Chamberlin and Salisbury in *Sixth Annual Report of U. S. Geol. Survey*; *The Terminal Moraine of the Second Glacial Epoch* by T. C. Chamberlin in *Third Annual Report of U. S. Geol. Survey*; and recent Papers by McGee, Upham and other authors. See also Vols. I. and II., *Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota*.

whose waters, thick and turbid, carried loads of detritus that was strewn along the course of the channels or carried far beyond the most southerly limit reached by the ice. During some phase of the melting process there was deposited at Iowa City as well as at scores of other localities, this well known *Loess* or yellow clay that is convertible in wet weather, as all have had experience, into fathomless beds of stiffest, stickiest mud, and in seasons of drought is reducible to finest dust that whirls into the air on the slightest provocation. Furthermore there is evidence that during the period of melting the country was re-occupied by plants and animals that successfully pushed their stations up to the very margin of the retreating ice. In the Alps and other glacial regions plants and animals maintain themselves without inconvenience in close proximity to the ice fields, so that the presence of organisms of high rank in Iowa pressing hard upon the footsteps of retreating glaciers need excite no surprise. This point in the history of Iowa deserves especial notice, for there are reasons to believe that with this incursion of animals from the south to hold and occupy what the glaciers were compelled to abandon, man came and for the first time set foot within the limits of our State. Prof. Aughey's discovery of arrow points in undisturbed beds of Loess at different points in Iowa and Nebraska, would indicate the presence of man in close proximity to the foot of the melting glaciers.¹ The rude implements of human make found by Dr. C. C. Abbott in the Quaternary gravel along the Delaware near Trenton, New Jersey, show that man was present about this time on the eastern border of our continent. In Oregon, Nevada and Utah are certain old lake sediments in which were buried the remains of an assemblage of animals that constitute what is known as the *Equus Fauna*. This fauna as set forth by Cope

¹ Hayden's Report on U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of Colorado, etc., 1874, p. 255. Since the lecture was written Prof. F. M. Witter reports the finding of arrow points in the Loess at Muscatine, Iowa. *American Geologist*, Vol. IX., p. 276.

embraces a number of extinct species, among which was a gigantic sloth-like animal, an otter, an elephant, two kinds of horses, three species related to the llamas or alpacas of South America, and an extinct deer. Besides these there were modern gophers, the modern beaver and the modern prairie wolf. The fauna is an old fashioned one. Cope is inclined to regard it as belonging to the later Tertiary, but Gilbert, Russell and McGee show that without doubt it must be referred to the Quaternary, that in fact it follows the glacial period. Now it is a point of wonderful interest that man was a part of that old *Equus* fauna. Human implements are found in undisturbed *Equus* beds. At the late meeting of the Geological Society in Washington,¹ Prof. Cope exhibited a skull of one of these extinct horses. The skull had the frontal bones crushed in a way that could be explained only on the supposition that the animal had been deliberately slaughtered with one of the rude hammers that are found in the beds from which the skull was obtained. Man was not only present as a part of the *Equus* fauna, but it would seem that he had learned how to conquer the horse and utilize its body as food. There were Quaternary horses in Iowa as shown by Foster,² and the museum of the State University contains portions of skeletons of a number of Iowa elephants belonging practically to the same species as that found in the *Equus* beds of Oregon and Nevada. The early men of Iowa and Oregon contended for supremacy with the same rivals. It is an interesting coincidence that over in Europe Quaternary man entered the valleys of France and Belgium immediately after the withdrawal of the glaciers and had for contemporaries, among a host of other creatures, a horse, and an elephant that was identical with the species that roamed over Quaternary Iowa and Nevada. The Quaternary horse, of Europe was also utilized for human food, and numerous crushed skulls embedded in the ashes and charcoal of the ancient hearths

¹ August, 1891.

² *Prehistoric Races of the United States*, p. 90.

attest the high esteem in which the brain was held as a toothsome delicacy.

Over in California there has accumulated, and there is still accumulating, a mass of evidence which makes it seem necessary to accord to man on this continent an antiquity higher than the middle Quaternary.¹ The facts briefly are these: Before the Sierra Nevadas were occupied by glaciers, and while yet a fauna including rhinoceros and other late Tertiary forms occupied the region, the rivers had cut deep gorges in the mountain sides and had strewn along their channels bars and beds of gravel. These gravels were rich in gold as were the more modern bars and gravel beds of rivers of the same region in '48 and '50. Bones of the Tertiary animals were frequently buried in the old gravels, and at the same time were buried hand-made implements and human skeletons. After all this had been going on for unmeasured centuries the region, hundreds of miles in extent, became the theater of a series of world-making or at least world-modifying convulsions. Lava was poured out from scores of fissures and piled up to a depth of hundreds or even thousands of feet, choking up the old river beds and burying out of sight the gravels with all their gold and all their entombed remains of men and animals. Since then the rivers of the region have found new channels, cutting them gradually by ordinary process of wear down through refractory lava beds and down into the hard crystalline rocks of which the mountains are constructed, to a depth in places of two thousand feet below the level of the older channels. Since then, too, glaciers accumulated on all the mountain tops to unknown depths and went flowing down the mountain sides plowing out channels and scooping out enormous valleys. After accomplishing an incredible amount of work the glaciers waned, died, became extinct; and now glaciated valleys with their heaps of glacial rubbish and with floors and sides characteristically scored and planed, attract

¹ See Bulletin of Geol. Society of America, Vol. II., p. 189.

attention from even the most untechnical tourist. To-day man is energetically following the courses of the prehistoric river channels in quest of gold, tunnelling under the lava beds and bringing to light not only the gravels with their glittering contents, but the bones of the Tertiary mammals and the human skeletons and human implements that were buried there long before the glaciers that once occupied the region were born, before even the lava floods had turned the rivers aside from their original beds. Whatever may be the true interpretation of the records preserved in the prehistoric river channels of California, it is quite certain that we have no evidence of the existence of man in Iowa, or anywhere in the Mississippi valley, earlier than the middle Quaternary.

What sort of man was it that first inhabited Iowa? The fact is gradually taking shape in the minds of archæologists that there are remains of at least two prehistoric races in the Mississippi valley. In order that we may appreciate intelligently the peculiarities of the earliest of these races let us consider for a moment the famous Neanderthal skull. It resembles the skull of the gorilla in the enormously thick stout ridges over the eyes, while the low grade of intelligence of its owner is indicated by the almost total absence of a forehead. This anomalous skull was found in 1857, and was for years regarded as marking probably some individual peculiarity and not as representing a distinct human type. At the late meeting of the International Congress of Geologists in Washington,¹ Mr. Max Lohest exhibited drawings and descriptions of human skulls of the Neanderthal type, from Liege, Belgium. Similar skulls are now known from France, Italy, Austria, Belgium and Sweden, and everywhere the conditions and surrounding circumstances indicate that they are the oldest of known human fossils. The fact that there was a low-browed, brute-like, small-bodied, square-shouldered, Neanderthal race of men must be regarded as fairly established.

Turning now to our own continent, we find a parallel series

¹ September, 1891.

of facts of unusual interest. Mr. M. W. Davis, of this city, has in his possession a skull from a mound in Johnson county that is almost of the Neanderthal type. It differs simply in having the superciliary ridges a little less prominent than in the old European race, and the arch of the skull is not quite so flat. A skull from Floyd, north of Charles City, Iowa, exhumed and described by Mr. Webster, is quite as anomalous as any known from Europe, and if found in Europe would be at once referred to the Neanderthal race. Three other skulls found by Mr. Webster at Old Chickasaw, exhibit the same racial characteristics. Three skulls of similar contour, from the region of Dubuque, Iowa, are mentioned and one illustrated in Foster's *Prehistoric Races of the United States*. Still others are described by Foster from Illinois and Indiana. Referring to one from a mound near Chicago he says, "No one I think can view this fragment of a skull, with the superciliary ridges projecting far beyond the general contour, both laterally and in front, and the low, flat forehead with its thick bony walls, without coming to the conclusion that its owner was a ferocious brute."

Dr. Lapham, author of *Antiquities of Wisconsin*, was at one time quite skeptical concerning the existence of a low-browed, ape-like race of men in America, and was even inclined to believe that the mounds had been heaped up by ancestors of the modern Indians. His observations led him to change his opinions, and later he could write to his friend Foster concerning two prehistoric skulls preserved at Milwaukee that, "The peculiar characteristics indicating a low grade of humanity common to both, are a low forehead, prominent superciliary ridges, the zygomatic arches swelling out beyond the walls of the skull, and especially the prominence of the occipital ridge. The anterior portion of these skulls, besides being low is much narrowed, giving the outline, as seen from above, of an ovate form."¹ The same Neanderthal type, it will be

¹ *Prehistoric Races of the United States*, by J. W. Foster, LL.D., p. 290. Skulls of this same degraded type to the number of a dozen or more are preserved in the collection of the Davenport Academy of Science.

seen, inhabited Wisconsin. America has furnished a larger number of skulls of this type than has Europe. The race may indeed have originated here and the low-browed American may have been the ancestor of the man of Neanderthal. We know that Europe received its prehistoric horses from America. Why may it not also have received its earliest prehistoric men in the same way? After the horse had been long extinct on this continent—the continent in which it had its origin—and after the Neanderthal type of men had disappeared from every quarter of the globe, Europe repays its debt with added interest by stocking this great continent again with domestic horses, and peopling it with an improved ethnic race represented in our own community by the Saxon, the Teuton and the Celt.

The Neanderthal race of Europe lived, some of them at least, in caves, and caves became in many instances their places for burial. The equivalent race in America occupied a region destitute of caves. Their habits, like those of all other races, were determined largely by their environment. What kind of homes they reared we may never know. In the matter of burial they adopted the simple fashion of piling heaps of earth over the bodies of their dead. Whether this inferior type of humanity was displaced by another, or whether in the course of time it developed into something better would be difficult to say; but it is quite certain that a higher race followed, constructing mounds on a much grander scale and of more elaborate patterns. Dr. Lapham clearly expresses the probable course of events when he says, "It seems probably that men with skulls of this low grade were the most ancient upon this continent; that they were the first to heap up those curiously shaped mounds of earth which now so much puzzle the antiquary; that they were gradually superseded and crowded out by a superior race, who adopting many of their customs continued to build mounds and to bury their dead in mounds already built."

It seems to me that archæologists take too little account of

the fact that a superior race may be lineally descended, or perhaps you would prefer to say that they may have lineally ascended, from an inferior one. Theoretical biology affirms that the ancestors of every race, our own proud ancestors among the rest, if we could only trace our line of descent back far enough, were men as low in grade and with skulls as flat, as the most brutish individual among the men of Neanderthal. The reverse is also possible, and a race of superior intelligence may, by a process of retrogression or degredation, give rise to descendants of very inferior quality. Fluctuations in the intelligence of a single prehistoric race might, judging from the monuments made at different times, lead to the conclusion that a region had successively been occupied by tribes of people racially distinct. Major Powell, Mr. Henshaw and others incline to the opinion that all mounds and their contents are to be attributed to ancestors of the modern Indian. If that can be proved no one will object. From one point of view we would have evidence simply of the successive occupation of Iowa and the Mississippi valley by three successive races; from another point of view the monuments would record three distinct phases of civilization of the same race. The question as to which view is the true one may be left without discussion until our information is more complete.

Whatever may be the genetic relations of the peoples that successively occupied America, this fact stands out prominently, that following the low-skulled men, and prior to the phase of civilization of which, at the time of Columbus, the modern Indian was the exponent, the country was occupied by an intelligent race that lived in settled, organized communities, and heaped up elaborate mounds of earth to which they often gave very perfect geometric outlines. These were the true *Mound Builders*.

The monuments of the mound builders are confined almost exclusively to the Mississippi valley; and are scattered all the way from the Gulf of Mexico northward into Wisconsin.

The center of this population, and the center of its culture and civilization as well, seems to have been in the valley of the Ohio, along the Wabash, the Sciota and the Miami on one side, and the Cumberland and the Tennessee on the other. If asked to locate the center more definitely we would place it near Chillicothe, or Marietta, Ohio. From this center the race extended into adjacent States, a portion of it occupying eastern Iowa. Iowa, however, seems to have held the position only of a remote frontier province, sparsely settled with rude pioneers that fell as far short of representing the real state of civilization attained at the center of population, as Iowa in the early 40's would have fallen short of representing the highest degree of culture and progress attained by the Anglo-Saxons.

The mound builders cleared forests and must have practiced agriculture on an extensive scale; they wove cloth; they graded roads; they built extensive and skillfully planned fortifications often embracing scores or even hundreds of acres; they made stone implements, but finding copper better for their purpose they sent annual expeditions to Lake Superior to carry on extensive mining operations in quest of this metal. As a rule the copper was hammered into knives and hatchets and bracelets, and other objects, but in some instances they seem to have known how to cast it into the desired shape. There appears to have been no McKinley among them, to conceive the idea of developing the tin mines of America, and so they missed the art of making bronze. Their water jars and water coolers were moulded by hand into artistic forms often representing portions of the human body or of lower animals. Effigies of fishes, reptiles, birds, quadrupeds and even the human form were skillfully carved in stone. The elephant pipes in the museum of the Davenport Academy of Science, which have been ridiculed by some persons high in authority, are to me in no way surprising. The men who made the arrow points found by Professor Aughey were here as early as the earliest elephants that followed close upon the

retreating glaciers, and elephants were prominent among the animals inhabiting Iowa and adjacent regions for a long stretch of time subsequent to their first appearance. Man was associated with the same species of elephant at the time the *Equus* beds were forming in Nevada. He was associated not only with the elephant, but with forms belonging to even older faunas in California. The evidence of man's contemporaneous existence with this same species of elephant in Europe has for many years been such as to preclude the possibility of doubt.

For a long time too after the elephant became extinct in this region another elephant-like creature, the mastodon, roamed in herds over the Mississippi valley, our State included, and must have been familiar to many generations of prehistoric men. The artists that carved birds and smaller quadrupeds so skillfully that even the genus and species represented may often be accurately determined, could hardly have failed to attempt the more ambitious subject of the elephant or the mastodon. The only wonder is that effigies of these striking creatures are not more common.

The earth works constructed by the mound builders are their most characteristic monuments. These vary from shapeless heaps of earth barely rising above the level of the surrounding surface, to great cones or pyramids, fifty, sixty, ninety feet in height. One, the great truncated pyramid at Cahokia, Illinois, has a height of ninety feet and a circumference at the base of more than two thousand feet. But of their mounds, or embankments, or strategically planned fortifications, or temples, or sacred enclosures, or sepulchers, it is not my purpose to speak. My object has been to describe prehistoric man no farther than was necessary to fix the proper relations of successive prehistoric events. Regarding the glacial period as the portion of time around which discussions relating to prehistoric man must center, I have tried to set forth its relations to preceding and subsequent eras. I have tried also to have you see that however long or however

short the time since the close of the glacial period, man has during all that time continuously occupied this continent, that in fact men of some grade of intelligence and some shade of color have, since the glacial period, continuously occupied Iowa. Furthermore man has been here as long as he has been in Europe; and the question whether America received its human population from the eastern continent, or the eastern continent from America would not now be answered off hand as it would have been twenty years ago. The facts I have presented are such as may be ascertained by pursuing what we may call the geologic method. The gentlemen who will follow me in this course of lectures will carry forward the discussion of events affecting Iowa by methods belonging more particularly to the historian, the philologist and the comparative ethnologist, and into their hands it gives me great pleasure, at this point, to turn the subject over.

IOWA INDIANS.

BY DR. J. L. PICKARD.

Delivered January 8th, 1892.



THOSE of you who accepted the guidance of Prof. Calvin were entranced by the star-lit ocean whose waters once rolled over this vast valley; were surprised to see islands rising slowly about your course and upon them a magnificent flora; were enraptured as glistening ice fields reflected the dim lights of the heavens from their pure white surface; were glad to see under warmer skies the streams of sweet fresh water flowing from receding glaciers with a new flora and fauna furnishing shelter, food, and clothing for a low-browed and low-statured race of human form who hunted within the forests and close upon the borders of the iceland, using the rudest instruments of attack with the vigor known only to brutish men.

In the ages that followed a civilized people moved northward, leaving their records in the ruins of magnificent temples which abound in Central America and in Mexico; in pyramids like the one at Cholula, rivalling in size those of Egypt; in mounds of various sizes and forms, some of which yield evidence of great artistic skill in fashioning instruments of silver, copper, and of stone—evidence too of a worshipful spirit within the breasts of the artists as upon the skeletons are found crosses of both Roman and Greek form.

Temples, pyramids and mounds show the highest degree of civilization within the tropics shaded more and more deeply towards the poles until it is lost among the Esquimaux in the North and the Patagonians in the South.

Centuries intervene and yet buried in such oblivion as that no trace appears of the tides of red men flowing in from the Northeast and the Northwest, crowding back even to their destruction the partially civilized mound builders.

That these mound builders did not leave their fair lands without a contest is proven by the ruins of extensive fortifications along the streams of this great Mississippi valley. Sixty miles back from Lake Michigan in the beautiful Rock River region of Wisconsin, at the village of Aztalan (Aztecland?) is a ruined fortification covering thirty acres in area whose walls were of burnt brick. Similar mounds and evident fortifications are found in northern and eastern Iowa.

Whence came these northern barbarian hordes that crowded in between the Esquimaux and the more civilized tribes that pressed northward after the ice age? No man is authorized to answer this question. Traditions even are vague. From the heaven direct; from the earth; from the water under the earth; from some far away region undefined: from Asia by Behring Strait; from Europe by Iceland, Greenland and Labrador; from Africa when the continents were joined before the time so briefly recorded in sacred writ.—“In his days” (days of Peleg) “was the earth divided,”¹ “and from thence” (the plains of Shinar where the tower of Babel was begun) “did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.”² These traditions give rise to various theories—theories free to your choice.

That the red men are here we know, and that they are yielding to another race, as themselves forced others to yield in centuries long past, is proven beyond a doubt. Icelandic records leave no room for doubt that in the ninth century Norsemen fleeing from Harald’s tyranny reached Iceland, that in the tenth century their descendants landed upon the shores of Greenland, and that within the first three or four years of the eleventh century they passed by Labrador and

¹ Gen. x, 25.

² Gen. xi, 9.

Nova Scotia to Cape Cod and into Narragansett Bay to the mouth of the Taunton river where stood for a time a Hof, or Hop—called Mount Hope more than six centuries later where King Philip's tribe of Indians were found when English settlements were made in Massachusetts.¹

To discover is more than to find. The Norsemen found America; only Columbus discovered it, lifting the veil of darkness which hid it, and disclosing it to Europe.

Of the period between 1004 and 1492, little is known of North America.

By discoverers from the St. Lawrence Gulf to the Caribbean Sea, and inward as far as hardy adventurers penetrated, red men were found and were treated ever as uncivilized men to be dispossessed of their lands as the several nations discovering saw fit.

The acquisition of title by discovery was recognized as valid, each nation respecting the other's rights. The red men could yield possession to national authority, but could not dispose of lands to individuals without national consent.

Relating to the titles of land acquired by treaties with Indian tribes, Chief Justice Marshall in case of *Johnson & Graham's lessee v. William McIntosh*,² gives the decision of the Supreme Court:

"The plaintiffs claim the land under two grants, 1773 and 1775, by chiefs of Illinois and Piaukeshaw tribes. The chiefs acted under authority of tribes who were acknowledged in rightful possession of the land they sold. On the discovery of this continent the great nations of Europe eagerly sought possession of as large a share as possible; to avoid conflicts they agreed upon discovery as giving right to ownership. They easily convinced themselves that sufficient compensation was given the Aborigines in civilization and christianity bestowed upon them and in unlimited independence.

¹ Bancroft's History of U. S., 16th Ed., 1858. Vol. I., p. 5.

² Wheaton's Reports U. S. Supreme Court, Vol. VIII., p. 543.

"Each nation claimed unlimited title and the right to grant lands subject to Indian occupancy. * * *

“A conquered people must either be treated as a subject people or be incorporated into the conquerors as part and parcel thereof. The relation of the Indians to the United States is peculiar. They are not foreign to each other. Indians must be wards of the nation—their lands separate from the state’s—and the government controls all intercourse with them. Their right of occupancy was subject to treaty—any lands held in possession by Indians could be alienated by them to the government or to individuals with approval or consent of the government, but the individual can not acquire title *direct* from the Indians.”

French traders acting under the principles of national ownership extended their tours up the St. Lawrence; English traders, from the Atlantic coast; Spanish traders, from the Florida coast and the Gulf to the Mississippi, and from the Pacific coast inward. The trade consisted largely in furs and fish, the most valuable in the colder regions; hence most is known of the great family of Indians called *Algonquins* in the northeast and of the equally numerous family called *Dakotahs* or *Sioux* in the northwest as known in the earlier days.

Another large family known as *Iroquois* were holding lands

within the territory claimed by *Algonquins* and they were therefore in constant conflict.

English and French too came into conflict, and into their quarrels the Indians were drawn. From the earliest history, until the treaty of 1763, when France surrendered her claims to territory east of the Mississippi, there were found French Indians and British Indians. The two great families—the Algonquins and the Iroquois divided in allegiance; some tribes of each family were found upon opposite sides and carried on incessant warfare. By degrees English influence gained the ascendancy and the French Indians transferred their allegiance to the English side. During the period from 1680 to 1763, the larger part of the Algonquin family thus changed sides. Prominent among them and in order named, Pottawattamies, Foxes and Sacs, who are known in Iowa history, deserted the French.

A word or two is needed as to Indian organization. Nations are divided into tribes and are known only in tribal organization except when tribes join themselves in confederacies as in the case of the Six Nations of the Iroquois family.

Tribes are divided into clans, each clan having its characteristic animal as its designation. The number of clans in a tribe is an even number; eight, as in the Fox tribe; twelve, as in the Sac tribe. Clans are made up of lodges, each lodge with husband, wife or wives (for Indians are polygamists) and children. The husbands of a clan are all known as brothers, the wives are sisters and the children recognize each of the brothers as *father*, and each of the sisters as *mother*; hence there are no cousins, no nephews, no nieces known among them. Descent, for obvious reasons, follows the female line. Marriages are always outside of the clan, but generally within the tribe.

Children are sometimes apportioned among the clans at their birth. Among the Sacs there existed a division twofold, and children born within the tribe were marked with black or white alternately so as to have an equal number in

each division whenever friendly contests were engaged in of strength or skill.

Over tribes *chiefs* are placed sometimes hereditary — sometimes by election. Braves who have distinguished themselves in war are made *war chiefs*. Thus it happens that two or more chiefs are found in the same tribe.

Tribes sometimes are divided when numbers are large, either by a vertical division, which puts into the new tribe part of each of the clans, or by horizontal division taking all of part of the clans — or by combination of the two methods.

Tribes unite also permanently as Sacs and Foxes, each retaining its chiefs and its braves, but with one superior chief to whose command the united tribes are subject — as the “Six Nations,” under Red Jacket. The union is often temporary — an offensive or defensive alliance, as under King Philip in 1675; Pontiac in 1763; Tecumseh, 1812; Black Hawk, 1832; Sitting Bull, 1891.

The better to present what is the special purpose of this lecture, I shall follow the history of the several tribes each by itself.

Until the organization of the territory of Iowa our fortunes were allied first with those of Michigan, then with those of Wisconsin, and in this latter period our boundaries were from the Missouri line to the St. Peter's river. Over this territory roamed the various tribes of the great *Sioux* family, chiefly *Sissetons*, *Ioways*, *Winnebagoes*, *Osages*, *Otoes*, *Missouris* and *Omahas*; also of the *Algonquin* family tribes known to Iowa history as *Sacs*, *Foxes*, *Illinois*, *Pottawattamies*, *Ottaways* and *Chippeways*.

Proceeding somewhat in detail as proposed and following a chronological order as far as possible in sketching the occupancy of Iowa Territory, but carrying forward each tribe from its first known appearance until its departure across the Missouri river, illustrating all movements by rudely colored maps,¹ I will give in a body the authorities studied, viz:

¹ The maps are not obtainable, except the outlines of the one representing the Black Hawk purchases found at end of the lecture.

Catlin, Schoolcraft, Fulton, Davis, Bancroft, Prescott, McKenney and Hall, Perkins and Peck, Helen Hunt Jackson, the biographers of Tecumseh, of Black Hawk, and of Keokuk; Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology; various magazine and newspaper articles, and the text of Indian treaties up to the admission of Iowa as a State.

The first tribe seen by white men upon Iowa soil was the

ILLINOIS.

1673.—Marquette and Joliet in descending the Mississippi saw, about sixty leagues below the Wisconsin river, footprints in the sand, and following them found a village of Illinois about six miles back from the river, probably near Montrose in Lee county, on the Des Moines river.

1765.—Pontiac surrendered and

1769.—was assassinated by an Illinois. Then began a war of extermination of the Illinois by Pontiac's followers—among them as chief, Sacs and Foxes. By 1803 extermination was nearly completed. When completed a band of Ioways was found among the Illinois, but so friendly to Sacs and Foxes that they entered into alliance and were fast friends for nearly twenty years.

SIOUX.

1680.—Father Hennepin found Sioux in northern Iowa and what is now southern Minnesota. He with two others was held a prisoner for five months, and formed the acquaintance of Du Luth.

Schoolcraft thinks them to be of Asiatic origin; they are of seven bands though confederate. They are bitter enemies to Chippeways who are looked upon as enroaching upon their rights in the rich hunting grounds of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa.

For the same reason they were hostile to Sacs and Foxes though less disturbed by them.

Their hostility extended also to Winnebagoes and Ioways who had seceded from them.

1812.—The Sioux espoused the cause of Great Britain and at the close of the war, treaties of peace were made with the Lake Sioux and with St. Peter Sioux. 1816, Sioux of the Leaf entered into treaty.

1825.—Boundary line was established between them and Sacs and Foxes and Ioways, also treaties of peace were made with Hankpapa Sioux. (See Map.)

1830.—The Sioux ceded to the United States a strip of land twenty miles north of the line of 1825, from the Des Moines river to the Mississippi river, receiving in part payment a tract for half breeds, fifteen by thirty-two miles on Lake Pepin. (See Map.)

The Ioways, Omahas and Otoes for themselves and in behalf of Yankton Sioux obtained also a half breed tract ten by twenty miles, west of the Missouri river, between the Great and Little Nemaha rivers.

1836.—Sioux ceded in concert with Otoes and Missouris and Omahas the lands between Missouri river and the State of Missouri, south of the Iowa line. (See page 46.)

1837.—They ceded all lands east of the Mississippi river and islands in the river.

To all these treaties the Sisseton Sioux paid no heed. They acted as outlaws and were so considered by other Sioux. They kept a constant warfare with the Pottawattamies after their removal from Lake Michigan to Southwest Iowa and until they left the State. From 1848 to the Spirit Lake Massacre of 1857, these "Bedouin Sioux" were a source of constant dread, and they will be found troublesome in the future as in the past. Sitting Bull's death has led to a temporary cessation of hostilities.

Efforts are made to civilize them. Missions and schools among them make but little headway.

In care for their dead they differ from the Algonquin family and they cherish a less sacred regard for the resting place of their ancestors. Their dead are placed upon scaffolds.

Other tribes of Sioux with which we are especially con-

cerned—Ioways and Winnebagoes—have yielded more readily to civilizing influences.

IOWAYS—(Aiouez, *Fr.*)

There is a tradition among the Ioways that many generations before the coming of the French, they were upon Lake Pepin, and that Winnebagoes, Omahas, and Missouris were offshoots from the tribe.

Manhaugaw, the ancestor of Mahaska, belonged to the Nez Percés who were found at Mackinac, 1680.

A descendant of Manhaugaw about this time founded a village near the mouth of the Iowa river.

1690.—They were found with Winnebagoes upon Lake Michigan.

1700.—A part of the tribe was found by Le Sueur in the Blue Earth region. They seem to have allied themselves with Winnebagoes.

1775.—A body of Ioways was found with Shawanoes, Delawares, and Mingoes, on the Ohio river during Dunmore's war. This band was found later among the Illinois near Peoria.

The main body descended the Rock river with Winnebagoes, and thence to the mouth of the Des Moines, up that river stopping sometime in Davis, Wapello, and Van Buren counties, thence up the Des Moines, across Iowa to the Missouri river, and up the Missouri to Mandan village.

1786.—Returning they passed down on the west side of the Missouri and crossed into Southwestern Iowa near the mouth of the Little Platte, crossed north Missouri to the mouth of Salt river, thence up the Mississippi and Des Moines to the region of Chariton and Grand rivers, and had headquarters in Mahaska county.

1803.—They join the Sacs and Foxes in an attack upon the Osages—a war which is ended by a treaty of cession by Sacs and Foxes in 1804.

The next mention made of Ioways is at a conference at Pembina under Little Crow a Sioux chief, in 1812. The

southern band is often engaged in war with Osages, which continued until the Osages were removed from Missouri. During this war Mahaska distinguished himself. At one time while stanching nose-bleed in the Missouri river, he asked some Frenchmen who were descending the river, to carry him across. The Frenchmen replied by killing one of Mahaska's braves. Another brave killed a Frenchman and Mahaska then killed another to bear his brother company. Whites at once raised complaint of Indians. Mahaska was captured and kept a prisoner in Missouri. During his imprisonment four sisters of his band lost their husbands. After his release Mahaska married the four widows after the custom of his tribe.

1815.—The peaceful intentions of the Ioways are declared in a treaty with the United States.¹

1819.—The friendly relations hitherto existing between the Ioways and Sacs and Foxes were suddenly broken. While hunting upon Iowa soil, a Sac treacherously killed a young Ioway. During the winter following, Black Hawk having discovered the murderer, started to deliver him to the Ioways. The murderer himself being sick, his brother volunteered to go in his place. In sight of the Ioway village, probably near Iowaville, Black Hawk and his braves halted while the volunteer prisoner went forward singing his death-song into the village. Black Hawk started back and at his first encampment was startled at night by the sounds of horses' feet. Arising suddenly to meet what he imagined to be the assault of Ioways he was surprised to see the prisoner he had escorted to the village. The Ioways struck with the magnanimity of the Sac, who had volunteered to take his brother's place, after many threats of execution had released him and had given him two horses, one for himself and one for his sick brother.

1823, May 1.—The hostility between Sacs and Foxes and

¹ See Indian Treaties, edited by Richard Peters. Little & Brown, 1846. The same work is authority for all statements taken from treaties with Indians.

Ioways culminated in a battle near Iowaville, the result of which was the transfer of sovereignty of that region from Ioways to Sacs and Foxes. The Ioways had returned from a hunt and were preparing to celebrate their return by a horse race. A plan previously laid to march against Black Hawk on Rock river had been discovered, and Black Hawk by a forced march reaches the village of the Ioways while they are in the height of their carousal. After the first onslaught the battle progresses by detachments of twenty-five to fifty on a side, until all the Ioway warriors are slain. The old men are then ruthlessly slaughtered. Sacs and Foxes gained supremacy and after the release of Black Hawk, following the Black Hawk war, he lived upon this battle ground, and died and was buried there.¹

1824.—Ioways ceded to the United States all their lands in northern Missouri. Mahaska then lived on the Des Moines river, about one hundred miles from its mouth. Going to Washington he unexpectedly met on his way his lovely wife Rantchewaime, who insisted upon going with him. After his return he settled down to a peaceful cultivation of the soil. His wife was a beautiful woman of a true christian character. Mahaska said of her, "Her hand was closed to those not in need, but was like a strainer full of holes to the needy." She had a remarkable influence over her tribe, but lost her life by being thrown from her horse.

Mahaska lost standing with the warlike of his tribe, having aided the United States in arresting some of them. He removed to the vicinity of the Nodaways in Cass county, and was slain, 1834, in the southeast part of the county, about sixty miles from his village.

1825.—Ioways joined Sacs and Foxes in the treaty which fixed the line of division between them and the Sioux.

1830.—Again in establishing "neutral territory." (See Map)

1833.—Catlin locates the Ioways in southwest Iowa and upon the Missouri river with a band of Mandans.

¹ Burlington *Gazette*, A. W. Harlan.

1836.—Ioways accepted lands across the Missouri river with the Missouri band of Sacs and Foxes.

1838.—Final cession was made of all lands in Iowa for the sum of \$157,500, kept by the United States as a fund upon which five per cent. was paid annually.

At this time they outnumbered Sacs and Foxes and were in a good degree civilized.

Ioways follow the custom of shaving the head as do other tribes with whom they have held alliance, Sacs and Foxes, Kansas, Osages and Pawnees.

They are very religious in tendency, believing in a future state with material happiness for all who are able "to walk the slippery log."

They are chaste in life to a degree beyond other tribes. No illegitimate child has been known among them. An Ioway boy selects an intimate friend, and between them is repeated the history of Damon and Pythias.

A Sioux had slain an Ioway youth. His intimate friend takes three Sioux scalps, riding one hundred miles in twenty-four hours to accomplish the revenge.

During the Civil War Ioways were loyal to the Union and many enlisted in the Union Army, though they suffered the loss of bonds kept as a fund for their benefit.

1891.—October saw the surrender of tribal organization and acceptance of lands in severalty.

SACS AND FOXES.

There is a fairly authenticated tradition that these tribes, near relatives, were at the mouth of the St. Lawrence one hundred years before the coming of the French. Moving westward on account of antipathy to French traders, the Foxes took a direct route to the northern shore of Lake Huron and by Sault Ste Marie and Mackinaw—came to the region of Green Bay; while the Sacs followed the St. Lawrence and the lower lakes, where they became embroiled with French Iroquois Indians—the Hurons. They then moved

northward and westward till they met their old friends the Foxes near Green Bay. Their old alliance is renewed and Father Hennepin gives the first historic record of them as living along the Fox river—the Foxes then were called Outagamies.

1689.—La Hontan reports them still upon the Fox river.

1712.—A portion of the Foxes join the English Iroquois for the purpose of dislodging the French at Detroit. Unsuccessful they return to the main tribe pursued by the French, who halt not until they have driven both Sacs and Foxes up the Fox river and across to the Wisconsin.

Pressed from the north by the Ottaways and Chippeways, then friendly to the French, and from the west by the Sioux, they move southward.

1734.—They form an alliance with English Iroquois probably Senecas, pass down Wisconsin river, now closed to French trade, cross the Mississippi river at some point between Prairie DuChien and Dubuque, and establish themselves upon both sides of the Mississippi. Not far from this time Chippeways, Ottaways and Pottawattamies join them in occupancy of southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois.

The tribes Sacs and Foxes appear to have separated, the Foxes or Musquakies as they now call themselves remain about the lead mines and the Sacs move eastward and joining the Miami Indians they make an attack upon St. Louis.

1788.—Foxes cede to Julien Dubuque the right to occupy and remain upon a strip of land extending twenty-one miles from the mouth of the Little Maquoketa northward and nine miles back from the Mississippi. This was confirmed afterward by Spanish authorities. Dubuque married Potosa, a Fox maiden and established a trading post at McGregor and another at Dubuque. The Foxes envious of their son-in-law established a rival village at what is now North Dubuque.

1789.—The Sacs are found at a council held at Fort Harmar in making a treaty of peace with the Shawanoes, in which Wyandots, Chippeways, Ottaways and Pottawattamies are joined.

1795-1798.—An apple orchard is planted near Montrose by a half breed of Sacs and Foxes.

After the treaty of 1769, it seemed to be the settled purpose of Sacs and their allies—Winnebagoes, Pottawattamies, Ottaways and Chippeways—to exterminate the Illinois.

In doing this they overrun northern Illinois and return to the Mississippi river in 1794, but are found at a council held at Fort Wayne. They soon rejoin their old friends the Foxes not again to be separated.

1804.—Sacs and Foxes unite in a treaty made at St. Louis ceding to the United States northeast Missouri, between Gasconade river and the Mississippi—also a strip bounded on the north by Wisconsin river for thirty-six miles, thence by a straight line to headwater of Fox river of Illinois, south and east by Fox and Illinois rivers, and west by Mississippi river, also a small piece of land for a fort north of the mouth of the Wisconsin river.

This treaty left the Sacs and Foxes with the right to hunt upon ceded lands till wanted for settlement.

By the terms of this treaty all warlike movements between Sacs and Foxes and Great and Little Osages were to cease; Spanish claims in northeast Missouri to remain valid.

From this time dates the friendly feeling subsisting between Sacs and Foxes and Ioways.

1805.—Lieutenant Pike, U. S. A., finds a band of Sacs at the head of Des Moines Rapids, upon the west bank, another band sixty miles above, on east bank, another band near Rock Island, and still another upon Upper Iowa river near its mouth.

He also finds villages of Foxes, one six miles above Rock Rapids in Iowa, one at a point twelve miles west of the mines at Dubuque and still another at the mouth of Turkey river.

1808.—Settlers were attracted by the rich lands held by the Indians upon the Mississippi and frequent collisions occurred. To protect settlers Fort Madison was erected. Claims were at once made by the more warlike of the Sacs and Foxes

that this act was a virtual violation of the treaty of 1804. Black Hawk's band attempts the capture of the fort. Unsuccessful in direct assault, a surprise is planned when the soldiers have been lured outside the enclosure: the plan is revealed by an Indian maid in love with one of the United States officers.

1812.—Sacs and Foxes were sent into Missouri that they may be out of reach of British influence during hostilities then pending between United States and Great Britain. But the Indians escaped into Canada.

1813.—In the battle of the Thames, Black Hawk commanded a force of Sacs in the British army.

About this time a stockade was built near the present site of Bellevue in Jackson county, as a defense against the inroads of Winnebagoes who had formed an alliance with Sacs and Foxes.

Settlements upon Indian lands in Illinois rapidly increased.

1815.—A very large council was held with the Indians near the mouth of the Missouri river, attended by part of the allied tribes of Sacs and Foxes, at which a treaty was made ratifying the treaty of 1804.

1816.—Fort Armstrong at Rock Island was built, and complaints were made by Sacs and Foxes of the disturbance of their Great Spirit by noise of building. Another treaty of peace and confirming again the treaty of cession of 1804 was signed.

From both these treaties Black Hawk withheld his signature and kept as far as lay in his power the Indians, chiefly Foxes, from assenting under the plea that the treaty of 1804 was not binding upon the tribes since it was negotiated by chiefs who were sent to St. Louis for an entirely different purpose (the release of some Indian prisoners), and that their unauthorized act could not bind the tribes. This feeling was cherished by Black Hawk until the war of 1832, and was without doubt encouraged by British forces in Canada whom Black Hawk frequently visited.

About this time the Indians of the Fox village west of

Dubuque were invited to a council to be held at Prairie DuChien. On their way thither they were waylaid by a band of Sioux and were ruthlessly slaughtered.

Years later this treacherous act was signally avenged but the Fox village was deserted.

1822.—One provision of the treaty of 1804 which required the maintenance of a trading post by the United States upon the ceded territory was abrogated.

1824.—Sacs and Foxes cede all lands between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers lying south of the Missouri line with a reservation for the occupancy of half breeds of the space south of the north Missouri line extended to the Mississippi and lying between the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers.

1820.—Four years before this cession an army officer who had married a Sac maiden was given his choice between the surrender of his surgeon's commission and the abandonment of his wife and children. He chose the former and settled upon the present site of Keokuk. His descendants became beneficiaries in the "Half Breed Tract." His Indian father-in-law did not forget his fidelity.

1825.—Frequent troubles arose between the various tribes hunting over the rich grounds of Wisconsin and Iowa then a part of Michigan territory. Sioux seemed to be the aggressors first upon Sacs and Foxes and Ioways south of them, then upon Chippeways, Ottaways, Winnebagoes, Pottawatamies and Menominies to the east of them. A large council was held at Prairie DuChien resulting in fixing boundary lines between Sioux and the neighboring tribes. The southern line alone concerns our inquiries. It began at the mouth of upper Iowa river, extending to its fork just in the edge of Winneshiek county, and up that fork to its source, then in direct line to the fork of the Red Cedar in Black Hawk county, thence in direct line to the upper fork of the Des Moines in Humboldt county, thence in direct line to the lower fork of the Big Sioux in Plymouth county and down the Sioux to the Missouri river in Woodbury county. (See Map.)

1828.—President Adams proclaimed lands open to settlement and ordered Sacs and Foxes across the Mississippi. See treaty of 1804.

1829.—Mining territory, 8,000,000 acres, was purchased of the Indians claiming lands in what was then known as the lead mines, with Galena near the center.

Keokuk, as chief of the Sacs and Foxes, with Talomah, a Fox chief, aided the United States in quieting the Winnebagoes. Talomah is credited with the organization of a secret society of Four Roads or Degrees, similar to organization among the whites. Black Hawk still remained unfriendly.

The Winnebago disturbances and unfriendly demonstrations across the eastern part of the line established in 1825 led to a treaty in which Sioux ceded to the United States strip of territory twenty miles wide north of their southern line from the Mississippi to the Des Moines river, and the Sacs and Foxes ceded a similar strip south of the same line these forty miles in width to be maintained as *neutral territory*. (See Map.)

By provisions of the same treaty Sacs, Foxes and Ioways gave to the United States permission to locate any Indian tribes they might choose upon territory bounded upon the west by the Missouri river to the mouth of the Kansas river thence by a line due north to the northwest corner of the State of Missouri (at this time the northwest corner of Missouri was upon the line of Taylor county), thence east along the northern line of Missouri to the ridge separating the branches of the Grand river, up that ridge to the divide between the valley of the Missouri and that of the Des Moines river until the headwaters of the Boyer river are reached, thence by direct line to the upper forks of the Des Moines river, thence by the line fixed by treaty of 1825 to the Missouri river.

After this treaty Keokuk persuaded Sacs to move across the Mississippi, and they are found along the Iowa and the Des Moines, chiefly east of the Ioways.

1831.—Black Hawk crosses the Mississippi with his band but evidently with no purpose of remaining except for hunting purposes, for in 1832 he returns for cultivation of their old fields. Their fences are destroyed while he visits his friends the Winnebagoes, and in retaliation for what he considers white depredations he goes upon the war path. Finding a trader upon the grounds of his village, he breaks in the head of his whiskey barrel. State troops and United States troops join in the pursuit of Indians and driving them into Wisconsin end the strife at the battle of the Bad Ax. Black Hawk is made prisoner by treachery of his Winnebago allies, Decorah and Chaska. The motives which led Black Hawk to these acts of hostility were: 1st.—British influence. 2d.—Winnebago solicitation, as the Winnebagoes had not forgotten the course pursued by Keokuk, with whom Black Hawk was ever on unfriendly terms because of jealousy. 3d.—For personal reasons—his adopted son had been treacherously murdered by whites and his strong family attachments proclaim him a human being.

He claimed that the treaty of 1804, if he must recognize it, had not been kept in good faith as their lands upon Rock river were not yet needed for settlement since nearly one hundred miles intervened between the white settlements and their village at Rock Island.

There is at least the shadow of an excuse for Black Hawk, and United States authorities must in their more quiet review of the events of that year recognize the fact.

1832.—Sacs and Foxes cede to the United States a strip of land following the west bank of the Mississippi river in a line about forty miles west therefrom, till it ends at the Missouri line fifty miles west of the Mississippi river *excepting* a piece of land of four hundred square miles on both sides of Iowa river and containing Keokuk's village not far from the site of Wapello, and excepting also the "Half Breed Tract."

1836.—Cession is made of the lands partially ceded in 1830, or what is now northwest Missouri.

Keokuk village reservation was sold to the United States for money consideration,—75 cents *per acre*.

1837.—1,250,000 acres of land west of cession of 1832 with the same terminal points north and south were purchased. This purchase brought into possession of the United States the entire county of Johnson.

1842.—Sacs and Foxes cede all their lands lying west of the Mississippi river reserving the right to remain for three years upon that portion of the territory of Iowa lying west of a line running between Wayne and Appanoose, Lucas and Monroe counties and through Marion, Jasper, Marshall and Hardin counties.

1845.—All had removed west of the Missouri river except a band of Musquakies still remaining in Tama county and who were authorized to hold lands there by act of legislature of 1856.

It may not be amiss to speak here of the leader in the Sac and Fox tribe the gallant *Keokuk*. He was a remarkable strategist. In battle with Sioux vastly superior to his own band as mounted, he suddenly dismounts his men, forms them into a hollow circle and thus resists successfully the repeated charges of the mounted Sioux.

At another time he finds himself alone in the midst of his deadly foes. Quick as thought he declares that he has come into their camp to announce that there are traitors among them who have told him their plot, but that they will find the Sacs ready for them. While the Sioux are temporarily dazed by such information Keokuk dashes out of the camp and escapes to his own men unharmed.

His statesmanship was shown in several instances, once when going to Washington in insisting upon Black Hawk's accompanying him as a favor to him, but for the secret reason that he dared not leave Black Hawk behind lest he foment trouble on account of his jealousy.

By skill in diplomacy and by his fearless oratory he won or awed opposing chiefs into acceptance of his views. He

was the very soul of magnanimity, as was shown in his treatment of his successor after he had been unjustly deposed from his chieftaincy.

But great as he was he was weak in his own moral purposes and fell a victim to the Indian's persistent enemy, strong drink.

Among the Indians there is found a chivalric spirit as instanced in the incident of the Ioway's treatment of the murderer's proxy delivered to them by Black Hawk. Single combats were very common. Neither combatant would take advantage of circumstances. One rider unhorsed, the other rider dismounts. One bow broken or arrows spent, the other bow and quiver are cast aside; the last resort to the knife ends the strife by the death of one, and the other surrenders himself or is surrendered by a near relative, a sister even, to such punishment as the tribe of the vanquished brave may see fit to inflict.

Black Hawk, a fine specimen of manly strength, a war brave, was a man of great dignity of character, of proud demeanor.

He at one time turned away in scorn from white hospitality when he learned that he was not a guest at the first table. "Your meat my dogs would not eat." Whiskey proved his deadly foe, although he was an original prohibitionist of white traders.¹ In a feud between Sacs and Ioways two of the latter were killed and seven Mackinac blankets were considered as a fair equivalent for their lives, but a keg of whiskey was tapped by the Ioways in token of the consummated trade.

In response to a toast July 4, 1838, Black Hawk says "I liked my towns, my corn-fields and the home of my people: I fought for it."

When asked by Lieut. Pike to give up the British flag and to accept the United States flag alone, Black Hawk says,

¹ See page 47.

"We decline, we wish to have two fathers." When on a visit to Fortress Monroe, Black Hawk in a speech says, "The red man has but few houses and few warriors, but the red man has a heart which throbs as warmly as the heart of his white brother,"—a fact not sufficiently recognized.

A Sioux once said in the presence of Keokuk, "We must bore a Sauk's ears with sticks;" Keokuk replied. "We could not bore your thick skulls with sticks, it would take hot iron."

Wapello. once a Fox chief was succeeded by Poweshiek who for a time resided in Pleasant Valley, of Johnson county, where a trading post was established.

1838—Sacs and Foxes had removed to Agency City where is found a record of one hundred fifty-seven chiefs and braves.

Last trading post was near Des Moines on Keokuk Prairie.

WINNEBAGOES.

They belong to the Sioux nation though they claim an independent origin upon the west bank of Lake Michigan and north of Green Bay. Carver in a work published, 1796, of his travels among the Indians, 1766-1769, claims that the Winnebagoes were originally of Mexico, and bases his reason upon their hatred of Spaniards: he admits the affiliation with Sioux. They also claim the Ioways, Otoes, Missouris and Omahas as their descendants. These claims agree only on the common origin in the Sioux family, and in the recognition by the latter of Winnebagoes as their "elder brothers."

1669—French Missionaries met them about Green Bay.

1766—Carver found them upon Rock river. They and the Ioways are probably the only Sioux that moved across the Mississippi river. Meeting the Algonquin tribes of Sacs and Foxes, Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawattamies and Mascoutins they had formed alliances which continued for more than one hundred and fifty years.

1763—The peace between France and England found them reluctant to accept English rule, but at last they did so and

acted with England through the Revolutionary War, as also through the war of 1812. They joined in the Chicago Massacre with Pottawattamies in 1812. They were found with Tecumseh in Indiana and Ohio and Michigan.

1816—Made treaty of peace and friendship with United States.

1825—Were included in the treaty fixing boundaries. Again in 1827 and in 1828.

1829—Ceded part of their lands in Wisconsin and Northern Illinois, but joined Black Hawk's band in 1832. At the end of the war of 1832, they ceded all their lands in Wisconsin, accepting therefor lands of the neutral territory¹ from the Mississippi river to the Cedar river. This territory is ceded to United States in 1837.

1846—They accept land on St. Peter's river.

One-eyed Decorah and Chasta captured Black Hawk. Dandy was their orator. They have been wasted away by drunkenness.

POTTAWATTAMIES.

These are of Algonquin stock. The first record of them indicates that they were found about the head of Lake Michigan and extending as far east as Lake Erie.

At the council of 1789 they were found as part of what remained of Pontiac's Confederacy. They were the first to check the westward movement of the Iroquois.

They belonged to Tecumseh's Confederacy in the war of 1812, occupied Fort Dearborn after the troops deserted it, attempted to prevent the attack upon the fort made by the Winnebagoes, but did nothing to hinder the subsequent massacre.

With no other tribe have so many treaties been negotiated.

1829—Land ceded in Southern Wisconsin, Northern Illinois, including Chicago, with several reservations. This last treaty repeats that of 1816 with reference to Chicago.

¹ See Map.

1832—Treaty of cession of lands south of Chicago. Three treaties of this date cover lands in Michigan and Indiana. LeClaire, of Pottawattamie descent by mother, remained with the tribe, acting as interpreter at Fort Armstrong, 1818, married a Sac, 1820, was in Arkansas till 1827, then at Fort Armstrong. In Black Hawk purchase, reservations were made for Mr. and Mrs. LeClaire at Davenport and above. Mr. LeClaire continued to act as interpreter till 1842.

1833—Treaty made with united Chippeways, Ottawas and Pottawattamies granted them five million acres in Southwestern Iowa upon lands ceded for such purposes by Sioux, Sacs and Foxes, Ioways, Otoes and Missouris in 1829.¹

1834—Three treaties, small cessions of reservations.

1835—They are upon the five million acres as per treaty of 1833. Their burial ground still remains near Lewis, Cass county, on Nishnabotna river.

1836—Nine treaties ceded reservations previously held in Illinois and Indiana.

1837—Treaty confirming treaties of 1836 and accepting lands southwest of Missouri river.

1841—Billy Caldwell, a white chief, dies.

1846—All are removed west of Missouri river.

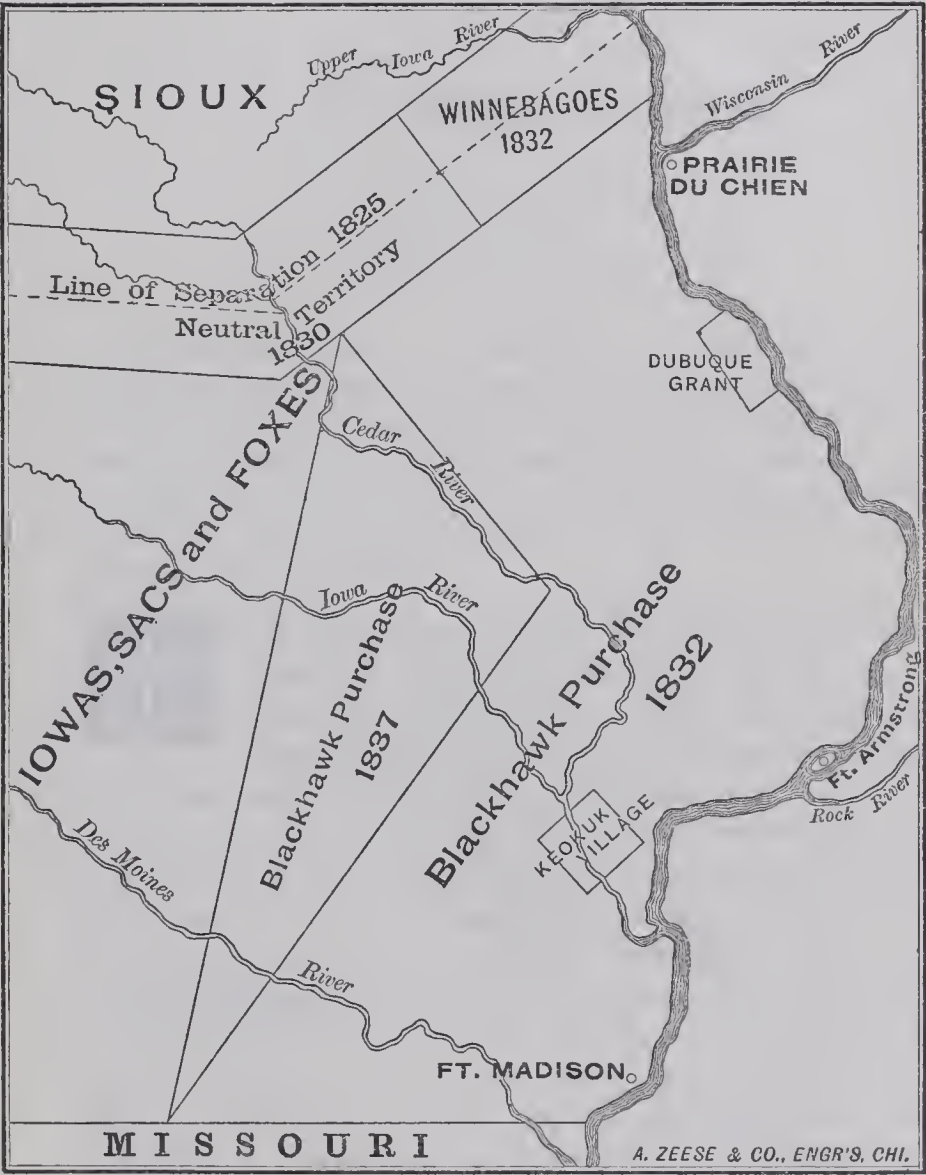
With no other tribe have so many treaties been made, forty-four in number, from 1789-1846.

OTTAWAS AND CHIPPEWAYS.

A portion of these were Indians found united with Pottawattamies and with them residing in Southwest Iowa from 1835 to their final removal from the State in 1845.

Before the admission of the State, 1846, all Indian tribes left the Territory except a few who roamed over the Northwestern part of the State, and a small band in Tama county.

¹ See page 46.



“THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.”

BY C. M. HOBBY.

Delivered March 15th, 1892.

[The facts and incidents of the following Lecture have been drawn principally from the published documents of the State Department, and it was the intention of the author to give quotations from these documents in foot notes, but as this would cause unnecessary repetition, he desires to refer the careful student to Vols. II., III., and IV., *American State Papers*, also *Annals of Congress*, Eighth Congress, First and Second Session, and *History of Louisiana*, by Barbé Marbois.]



IT HAS always seemed unfortunate, that with so much of romance in our own history, so many changes of boundary, so many diplomatic questions, involving relationship with so many nations, races, and conditions of people, that the school boy of to-day should know so much of the petty actions of foreign powers and so little of our own history. The change of nominal proprietorship of a few thousand acres marks an epoch in the history of France, Germany, or the Italian States, but our own country has added to its possessions more than one thousand millions of acres within ninety years, three times as much land, and better land too, for every year of the ninety, than the German conquests of 1870. In our dealings with foreign countries, our diplomats have held their own although our foreign service since the early years of the republic, has not been a trained and experienced one.

The principles and methods of our earlier foreign ministers still influence our State department, and the tyro can find in

the voluminous correspondence of Franklin, Jay, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and the three Adamases hints for almost any occasion. The story of the Louisiana Purchase belongs to the early days of the Republic and comes appropriately in a course of lectures upon Iowa history; for, Iowa itself is a part of that Louisiana which so interested the French court two hundred years ago. Since the white man first unfurled a flag, the emblem of sovereignty, over these beautiful prairies, three times the flag has changed, and there have been four acquisitions of Louisiana.

Three hundred and eighty years ago (1512), Juan Ponce de Leon landed in Florida searching for youth and gold, especially the latter, and nearly thirty years later, or three hundred and fifty-one years ago (1541), De Soto crossed the Mississippi with six hundred men, into what is now the State of Arkansas. Other than the unmarked graves of half of his command, the expedition of De Soto left no trace.

More than one hundred years the red man had remained undisturbed in these magnificent hunting grounds, when Father Marquette on the 17th of June, 1573, entered upon the Mississippi from the Wisconsin. Not for gold came he, nor for the prolongation of life in this world: but in quest of souls for the next, the humble Jesuit opened the gates of exploration, not again to be closed: with him came Joliet, the trader, and thus the cross and the yard stick found the way where sword and buckler failed.

Then came La Salle and Hennepin. La Salle dreamed of empire, of glory to France, and himself; a chain of forts on the Mississippi; Canada and the Gulf connected; the lakes and the river to be the arteries of a commerce that should give wealth and glory to the king, and homes and fortunes to untold generations. La Salle and Tonti descended the Mississippi to its mouth and took possession in the name of the king of France on the 9th of April, 1682, and thus the province of Louisiana was born two hundred and ten years ago.

The first colony which La Salle attempted to transplant to

the mouth of the Mississippi, failed to find the way, and landed in Texas at Matagorda bay. But we must pass the stories of La Salle and his misfortunes, of D'Iberville and Bienville, and their successful colonization, the growing plantations, the commerce, the founding of St. Louis, the romance and reality of the adventurous colonists until one hundred and thirty years ago, the Spaniard came into possession of Louisiana, and thus divided with Great Britain the American continent. Louis the Great—Louis XIV.—was king of France when La Salle proclaimed Louisiana French property. Louis XV. succeeded him and in his day, Law and his financial schemes appeared on the stage, and Louisiana and the Mississippi, became the source of credit that was to float the business of France and make everybody prosperous, and so in connection with Louisiana began the first experiments in a fiscal policy which brought disaster to the French nation and left a heritage of financial theories, again and again to sprout, even to our day in the old Louisiana soil.

Thus it may be seen that the early history of this valley is surrounded by all the chivalric impulse, the high aspirations, the heroism, and misfortune, that interest us in the record of the Atlantic States; and that the same difficulties of colonial government, led the same kind of ambitious spirits into similar adventures.

We note, however, a great difference between the French and English colonial enterprise, in the management of Indian affairs; French tact and intrigue succeeding better with the wily red man, than English positiveness. The same qualities, however, led to more internal dissensions among the French colonies than among the English.

Concerning the events preceding the acquisition of Louisiana, and the purchase itself, especially the details of the great transaction, many mouldy witnesses lie hidden and forgotten in the archives of the foreign ministries of the United States,

France, and England; much of the correspondence of the time has been lost in the vicissitudes of war, domestic and foreign; yet from what there is accessible a reconnaissance of the field may be made, and an idea of the position of affairs secured.

While we may admit that the wisdom and influence of no individual is necessary to social evolution, yet we must also acknowledge that apparently unimportant actions, good or bad, of the few persons entrusted with authority may change the destinies of nations, and influence the progress of civilization.

It is to such a record that I invite your attention, and in presenting the facts of the "Louisiana Purchase," I must claim the privilege of clustering the events around individual actors.

The Eighteenth Century left but few great men to the Nineteenth, at least, so far as men of capacity in public affairs, with the opportunity to use it, can be called great men. Frederick the Great had been at rest in the Garrison church for fifteen years, our own Washington was sleeping at Mount Vernon; of the few who survived, Napoleon Bonaparte has certainly by his military ability, his audacity, his success and his downfall, filled the largest measure in human estimation. Commander-in-chief of the French army in Italy at twenty-seven, master of Egypt, at twenty-eight, conqueror of Europe, first consul by title, and virtual Emperor of France and Italy, Napoleon enters the nineteenth century less than thirty-two years of age.

So far as Napoleon took advice, or listened to counsel, it came from his minister Talleyrand, a man as able and unscrupulous in statecraft as Napoleon was in the profession of arms; with little liking for America, whose first president had declined to receive him, and whose early envoys to the French Republic had exposed his corrupt practices; he undoubtedly believed, and had so expressed himself in a pamphlet, that in spite of the war of Independence, the United States, from the force of language, race and interest, would become the natural ally of England.

In America, the presidency of Jefferson commenced with the century. Jefferson was by far the ablest American statesman of this century who participated in the affairs of the last, and he was particularly fortunate in his Secretary of State, Madison. The greatness of Jefferson grows with time, and as this century fades away, it seems probable that the future historian will consider him the foremost American statesman of any time. Others have ably met the problems that confronted them, but Jefferson alone, of all who have left their records upon American history, looked into the future, and anticipated its problems.

The author of the first statute guaranteeing religious freedom, of the Declaration of Independence and of our system of decimal currency, knowing America, and her necessities, better than any one else, familiar by long residence in France with French sentiment, and with the development of the new phases of French character that followed the revolution, he recognized the importance of Louisiana when the opportunity came, and wisely made use of it.

It is natural for the mind of man to believe that present conditions and surroundings are inevitable, and it is often said that our western civilization is the natural expansion of the civilization of the east, that Iowa is an offshoot of New England, modified by Teuton, Celt, and Slav; so far as the part above the surface is concerned, this may well be admitted, but why New England crossed the Mississippi, instead of the St. Lawrence, why the development followed lines of transplanted Anglo-Saxon growth, instead of those of the French discoverers and first white occupiers: why here in Iowa our language is English, and our flag the stars and stripes, is worthy of a little thought, and bears with it some useful lessons, for those who believe in and would foster the manifest destiny of this great republic.

The theme of to-night is the peaceful conquest of an empire, greater than that of Cæsar or of Charlemagne, the acquisition of the most fertile part of this most fruitful land.

France mourns for Alsace, and well she may, for Alsace is a beautiful garden, but when she parted with Louisiana, she lost a province capable of making three hundred States each as large and fertile as Alsatia. When the eighteenth century was drawing to a close, France presented a condition of affairs hitherto unknown in history. Her people, descended from the free tribes of ancient Gaul, had fallen into an apparently hopeless bondage, into slavery more abject than the African slavery of the south, and then suddenly had burst their bonds and overwhelmed their former task-masters; and when the rage was on them rejected all authority; but eventually as they poured out against the authority of other lands, they appreciated the necessity of military subordination and thus opened the way for a master, a demand that nature has ever been ready to supply in such emergencies.

Across the channel, the British Islands were well started on their way to territorial and financial aggrandizement, already the shop-keeping spirit, which has made England the richest and most detested nation of the globe, controlled the cabinet and the policy of England, at least so far as foreign affairs were concerned. England still smarted under the loss of her colonies, and still nourished the hopes of regaining their fealty; she attributed the loss to France, and added it to the long account which had accumulated from the strife and mutual hatred of a thousand years. Then, as now, England dreaded maritime rivalry, her intense selfishness, then as now, would monopolize the isles of the ocean, the ocean itself, and grasp a percentage for Threadneedle street, from the circumambient air.

The map of America at the close of the century shows that foreign control existed over more than three-fourths of the continent south of latitude 50° . The United States, with the present northern boundary of the great lakes, claimed to the Mississippi on the west, and to Florida on the south, at about latitude 31° .

We had no territory on the Gulf of Mexico, all to the west

and south was held by Spain, and was known as The Floridas and Louisiana. Louisiana itself, as ceded from France to Spain, included all between the Mississippi and the Spanish province of Mexico indefinitely north, together with west Florida, or at least, for the descriptions are very indefinite, the gulf coast as far as, and including, Mobile. This cession to Spain, November 3d, 1762, was followed on the 10th of February, 1763, by a general treaty of peace between the kings of Spain, France and Great Britain, in which treaty of peace France ceded to Great Britain all territory east of the Mississippi except the town of New Orleans and the island on which it stands, and at the same time Spain ceded the Floridas to England.

September 3d, 1783, when the independence of the United States was recognized by Great Britain, the Floridas were retroceded to Spain. Thus the United States had Spain for a neighbor both west and south.

The United States when the new century opened had been at peace for seventeen years, for twelve years the Constitution had been the charter and compact of nationality. The second census had shown a great increase of population; it was known that there were 5,300,000 inhabitants, our commerce was increasing with great rapidity and we were rapidly approaching Great Britain in the amount of our tonnage.

But our people had lost the solid front which carried them so gloriously through the war of Independence, party dissensions ran high and bitter, Democracy weighed heavily on the spirits of those who still looked back to England as home, and those who loved all English institutions excepting, perhaps, the personality of the Hanoverian monarchy; many were shocked at the atrocities of the French revolution, forgetting the greater atrocities that led to it; their sympathy was with the royalists of France against the Republicans, but with England against all of France. Others remembered with gratitude the assistance that France had given us in our dark hours, many indeed were still active in public affairs who

had fought side by side with French soldiers in the campaign so happily ended by French aid at Yorktown; these naturally sympathized with the French people, and only remembered England for her crimes against liberty and their country. Fortunately the federalist administration of Adams, and the republican administration of Jefferson, were both conservative administrations, and under both, although the danger of war with France was imminent and constant, the representatives of the people upheld the hands of the presidency in all dealing with foreign countries, and were always ready to sink party dissensions, when it became necessary to defend the country against foreign intrigues, or when the lives and property of Americans were endangered abroad. It is gratifying to follow the record of these times and compare the patriotism they exhibited with the pusillanimous conduct of a portion of the people, during the second war with England.

Those in authority in France, however, were led to believe that by proper manifestations, America might be drawn into war against England. Such was not the belief of Talleyrand, and had it been true that the people were inclined to help France, the treatment our ambassadors received from the Directory, and the persistent seizure of our vessels and imprisonment of our sailors, rapidly discharged the debt of the old alliance, and cooled the most ardent friendship.

It is necessary to briefly consider those troubles known as French spoils, the echoes and reminiscences of which have lingered around the lobby of Congress even to our own times. These arose, first, from the action of the French government in defining the rights of neutrals, whereby in effect under the decrees of the Directory, vessels were declared lawful prize which carried English goods, or visited English ports, and American vessels were seized and condemned even when in sight of our own ports. Later, under the first consul, an American serving on an English ship, even if under compulsion, was declared a pirate, and through the whole course the French policy was to consider everything that was not for

France, as for England, thus practically destroying all consideration of neutrality. These spoilations commenced before 1796, and continued until 1801, and during that time there were seized by French and allied vessels, mainly privateers, more than three hundred vessels flying the American flag. Some were properly condemned, but in the eventual settlement, \$2,750,000 was allowed for seizures contrary to law and treaty. In addition our sailors and citizens were imprisoned, our minister treated with discourtesy, and a state of actual warfare upon the seas resulted. Constant efforts to secure justice were made. Mr. Monroe, who formulated the doctrine that goes by his name many years later, was recalled by President Washington in 1796. His successor was C. C. Pinckney, but the Directory refused to receive him, "or any minister until the United States had redressed grievances complained of," probably referring to the summary way in which the meddling minister Genet was sent home, and also to the neutral policy of the United States in the war between England and France. Pinckney whose success in Spain as a diplomatist in the previous year, had given prestige to his name, remained as a special agent in Paris until he was sent out of the country the next year in February. Early in his term President Adams nominated, July 15th, 1797, C. C. Pinckney, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry, envoys extraordinary to France with instructions to secure some kind of an adjustment of the doctrine of neutrality, and some assurance that American rights and property should be respected upon the high seas.

They were never officially received, but their letters have thrown much light upon the condition of affairs in Paris.

The treaty with Spain in 1795, had given to our people the free navigation of the Mississippi, together with the "right of deposit," at New Orleans for three years, and afterwards either at New Orleans or some other point on the same island. This right of deposit, as it was called, was the privilege of disembarking and storing produce and merchandise for export

until it could be conveniently shipped, without other tax, tariff, or charge except for storage.

This control of the great river by a foreign country was necessarily very unpleasant for the inhabitants of the rapidly growing settlements of western Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky. Kentucky had been admitted into the Union in 1792, and it is apparent that this admission was hastened to frustrate the plans which had been formed looking towards the establishment of an independent republic or empire in the Mississippi valley, with the Alleghanies as the eastern boundary.

To fully understand the mental condition of the people who had come over the mountains to the rich lands of the west, we must think of the problems that faced them. Into their minds came no hint of the wonders that were to be worked by steam. Even western Pennsylvania could not dream of marketing produce on the Atlantic coast.

Nature had made a highway the most complete of the known world, penetrating every part of a land, greater than all France, Germany, Spain and Italy, a land stretching in climate from semi-tropical through every zone of temperate, growing the sugar cane on the south, rich in lumber in the north, capable of producing everything for the benefit of man, excepting only the banana and the date. No nation then existing had such diversity, no nation seemed to be so completely bound together by nature, and so isolated by nature from dependence upon others.

They could see no possible community of interest with the people who, fringing the Atlantic coast, constituted the United States; they had less need, less traffic, less of the sentimental and emotional influences that enter into even the structure of nations, to assimilate them to the United States, than the States had to bind them to England. What wonder then that they looked forward to a great and independent destiny, and that the one unpleasant prospect was, the possession by Spain of the mouth of the Mississippi. That Genet, while minister of France to this country, fostered these sentiments, and sug-

gested the separation and seizing of the mouth of the Mississippi is well known, how extensive the conspiracy, and who were engaged in it would form an interesting topic for the historian. Aaron Burr was Vice-President of the United States, at the opening of the century, and few years later he was connected with a conspiracy having somewhat similar objects.

But the consideration of all the circumstances and actors in the drama of the Louisiana Purchase, would require a volume and we must hasten to the deed itself. Near the close of the last century, namely, October 1st, 1800, Spain retroceded to France the province of Louisiana in these characteristic, and not easily understood terms: "The colony or province of Louisiana with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States."

The interpretation which it seems would cover the intention, for we must recall the fact, that the ambassadors negotiating the treaty knew less about Louisiana than they knew of Central Asia, the most plausible interpretation would be all of Louisiana that France ceded to Spain, which would only take on the east of the river the island of New Orleans: but our people have always held that it meant all of Louisiana as it was originally, including that portion Spain got from Great Britain, viz.: West Florida, including Mobile to the river Perdido. This treaty of Ildefonso opens the story. It was not intended that the treaty should be made public, but the inquiring minds of the English foreign office, with its corruption fund, easily had the ears of its representatives at the key holes, in Madrid, in Paris, in San Ildefonso, and the American minister to England, Rufus King, was allowed by Lord Hawksbury to share the knowledge very early, before it was even rumored in Paris or Madrid, and long before the people or the Governor of Louisiana itself dreamed of it as possible.

On the 29th of March, 1791, King wrote home of the

rumor. In those days it took time to cross the Atlantic, usually from seventy to ninety days. Pinckney, in Paris, counted six months as the necessary time to get a reply from Washington, but we find King's letter of March 29th, had been received, considered and acted upon by June 9th, when Madison, Secretary of State, wrote to Pinckney, minister to Spain, once more. Livingston, whom Jefferson had sent to France, seems not to have been informed in regard to this cession of Louisiana to France until he received instructions in September (1801), indeed he was late in arriving at his post. From this point, I shall attempt to paraphrase the letters, communications and instructions, so as to show the action of the mind and the growth of the great project of the American acquisition of Louisiana, divested of the superfluous verbiage of diplomatic correspondence.

Mr. Jefferson had in mind the condition of affairs in the Mississippi valley, the uneasiness of the people, the many incentives luring the people to separate national existence, and the rumor of the retrocession to France suggested to him grave possibilities. France, the most active and most powerful nation of the time, had in New Orleans and at St. Louis, French people familiar with the country. Canada had been a French province within his own lifetime, and the French inhabitants of Canada, then as now, failed to assimilate with the English speaking people. He viewed with alarm the possibility of a great French empire on the west of the Alleghanies, and he directed Mr. Madison to call Livingston's attention to these matters, and say to him that France would be a much more uncomfortable neighbor than Spain. And he asks, "cannot you ministers to France and Spain stop this rumored trade?" Livingston suggested to Talleyrand that in making the deal the two governments should cede the Floridas to the United States. Talleyrand talked of other subjects and Livingston was led to think there was nothing in the trade, and that Spain would back out. Later, in 1802, he began to believe it possible, but the cooking of Paris and the kindly manipula-

tions of the astute Talleyrand convinced him that France would be a good neighbor, and that she would allow us free navigation of the Mississippi. Along in March Livingston caught Talleyrand at some of his tricks, and wrote home that he could not find out about anything. In May, by order of the President, Madison wrote him again, "It won't do to have the Mississippi closed to us." "The President wants you to find out what sum France will take for New Orleans and the Floridas" laboring under the idea that Spain had ceded the Floridas to France. We must have the mouth of the river, and he wants you, Mr. Livingston, "to devote every attention to this object, and be frequent and particular in your communications relating to it." The President also wrote personally at this time, and by Mr. Livingston's acknowledgment of the receipt of the letter, we see that just ninety years ago, it took the same time for a letter to get from Washington to Paris, as it now takes an American to make his summer trip to Europe and to return home.

During this important summer, Mr. Livingston, who personally and by his friends, always afterwards claimed the entire credit for the Louisiana Purchase, spent his time in trying vainly to ascertain the truth of what King had written home long before, and in writing elaborate memoirs to convince the French that Louisiana was useless for them, or for any one else. In spite of the constant urging from Jefferson and Madison he seems to have accomplished nothing. He gives, however, in one of his letters a brief description of Napoleon, that is worth remembering.

"There never was a government in which less could be done by negotiation than here. There is no people, no legislature, no counsellors (*sic*), one man is everything. He seldom asks advice, and never hears it unasked. His ministers are mere clerks, and his legislature and counsellors parade officers. Were it not for the uneasiness it excites at home it (the Louisiana trade) would give no worry, for I am persuaded that the whole will end in a relinquishment of the

country, and transfer of the capital (New Orleans) to the United States." In November he asks for instructions as to making an offer, "can't get anything for nothing." Jefferson's mind is still on Louisiana when Congress assembles in December, and early in January he nominates James Monroe, as minister extraordinary, to act with Livingston in Paris, and Pinckney in Spain. "We must have the mouth of the Mississippi;" the general instructions given to Monroe and Livingston were to obtain if possible the whole foreign territory east of the Mississippi, the Floridas and New Orleans with the island, with agreement for free and unobstructed navigation of the Mississippi, by contracting parties.

Meanwhile Livingston waiting for Monroe gets a new idea and actually suggests to Talleyrand that the island of New Orleans be made an independent State, under the protection of Spain, France and the United States. Talleyrand continues his peculiar tactics until along in April. Livingston begins to talk business with Barbé Marbois, Napoleon's minister of the treasury. Marbois has been in America, and in the French colonies, understands the condition of affairs, the dangers and expedencies, moreover he has the ear of Napoleon; about this time Talleyrand asks Livingston what the United States would give for the whole of Louisiana. Livingston thinks he had better wait for Monroe's arrival, but does not want anything only the east side of the river. After this point the interesting part of the drama shifts to the French side, and we can best listen to the story told by Marbois who evidently was actuated by fear of England, as well as sympathy with the United States. But before looking at the motive from the French side, it is well to bear in mind that while these negotiations were progressing, there were crossing the Atlantic positive instructions to Monroe and Livingston to complete the business at once, either to buy New Orleans and the Floridas, or to notify France that we should take possession of them, and to withdraw at once from France and enter into negotiations with England for alliance in the then threat-

ened war against France; so important did the peaceful Jefferson regard the possession of the Mississippi.

But while the American ministers were seeking only New Orleans and the Floridas, as security for the free navigation of the Mississippi, Napoleon brought face to face with approaching war with England, saw the necessity of preparation for the contest, and voluntarily and we may imagine abruptly opened the subject to Marbois, who having been secretary of legation to the United States at the close of the Revolutionary war, was evidently believed by Napoleon to be more favorable to American interests than Talleyrand. It was on the tenth of April, and he had been declaiming forcibly about England and the probability of English ships making a descent upon Louisiana. "I know not whether they are not already there" he says: "It is their usual course, and if I had been in their place I should not have waited." "I wish if there is still time, to take away from them any idea that they may have of ever possessing that colony. I think of ceding it to the United States. I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession." "If however, I leave the least time to our enemies I should only transmit an empty title to those Republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask one town in Louisiana; but I already consider the colony as entirely lost, and it appears to me, that in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy, and even to the commerce of France, than if I should attempt to keep it." Thus it seems that before Monroe arrived in Paris, Napoleon had determined to part with Louisiana, so that upon the arrival of Monroe there remained only the question of price to be determined. Thus with all the anxiety on the part of the Americans to control the navigation of the Mississippi, despite the suggestions of war, and the instructions then on the water, to secure the mouth of the Mississippi by purchase from France if possible, and that failing, to prepare for alliance with England, the key to the suc-

cessful result is given by the prophetic language of the first consul soon to be emperor of the French.

“This accession of territory, strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride.”

The sum to be paid to France was sixty million francs, and the United States agreed to pay the claims known as the spoilation claims, estimated at twenty million more, being at the rate of two and one-half cents an acre.

The accepted boundaries of this imperial domain, were on the east from the Lake of the Woods to the most northerly source of the Mississippi, thence along the Mississippi to the thirty-first parallel, thence east to the Perdido river and south to the Gulf of Mexico, on the west commencing in the Rocky mountains at an indefinite point, recognized by England as the forty-ninth parallel, thence along the Rocky mountains to the head waters of the north fork of the Arkansas river, along the Arkansas river to the one hundredth meridian of longitude, thence south to the Red river, at a point north of the mouth of the Sabine river, thence south to and along the Sabine river to the gulf. In addition the so-called Oregon country, comprising the present States of Washington, Oregon and Idaho, was claimed as being conveyed by France to us, and when the north limit of the forty-ninth parallel was established, this was conceded. This peaceful acquisition doubled our territory, and made it necessary for the new nation to be considered in the councils of the old world. From it there have entered the Union fifteen States, and the fifteen stars in the flag represent nearly twenty per cent of the entire population.

The brief advantage given by the necessity and impetuosity of the great Napoleon, undoubtedly has resulted in the perpetuation of the union of the States, for had this magnificent prize been held by France, subject to the disposition of the allies in 1815, we cannot doubt but that the red ensign of England would still wave over it, for the two mighty water-ways

would have led to its population by a people with little interest in the Atlantic States; or had England for once been generous, and restored it to Spain, it would have separated from that country only to found an empire by itself.

The iron rail has bound together the interests of the east and west. The vision of La Salle is fulfilled by people of another race. The Father of Waters flows through a magnificent valley, peopled by prosperous millions and its population is entirely loyal to the Constitution of the fathers. No dream of separate empire disturbs the slumber of the ambitious; fear of sectional injustice can no longer sway the multitude, for the wealth and commerce of the valley is increasing faster even than its population, and we may well believe that as our people now control the policy of the Union, so the political destiny of the continent will rest in the hands of our children.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE COMMON LAW INTO IOWA.

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IT WILL be important in the course of this discussion to have a clear understanding of the meaning of the terms "Civil Law" and "Common Law." The term "civil law" is sometimes used to indicate the portion of any system of law which determines private rights and provides remedies for the adjustment of private controversies, as distinct from criminal law, which defines public wrongs and provides for their punishment as offenses against the state, or as distinct from military law by which the military forces are governed and which is administered by courts martial. But this is not its meaning as used in jurisprudence. As the name of a system of law, the "Civil Law" designates that system which was developed among the Romans and carried by them into all the countries of Europe becoming subject to them, or to their civilization, while the term "Common Law" indicates the system of law which originated in England and has been carried by English speaking people to every part of the world.

In Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, even in Russia, the Civil Law has furnished the basis of the national system of law. In each country will be found local customs and statutory provisions peculiar to that

country, but in each the student of law will study the general principles of the Civil Law in order to secure a knowledge of the fundamentals of the law, and the lawyer in arguing cases, and the judge in deciding them will be guided by those general principles, so far as they are not directly modified or superseded by particular statutes or customs.

On the other hand, the student of law in England, or in any one of the United States (with one exception), or in Canada, or India, or Australia, will be directed to a wholly distinct system, and the lawyer and judge will refer constantly to principles having a wholly different origin and development.

There is here one of the great and striking contrasts of history. The Romans put their impress upon the law, the language, the literature, the religion, the political institutions, of every people in Europe with whom they came in contact, and barbarians who did not directly come in contact with the Roman legions, and recognize allegiance to the Roman power, nevertheless, as they advanced towards learning and enlightenment, found the only available channels for such advancement leading toward the Roman civilization. The savage hordes which pushed into the south of Europe to possess themselves of its sunny lands, its fertility and its accumulated wealth, yielded not only to the influence of a milder climate but also to the amelioration of a civilization that tended to luxury in both its physical and its intellectual phases.

The study of the Civil Law was a part of the course of initiation into this civilization and wherever there was an effort to attain to the arts and polite learning of the Romans, there the Civil Law was studied. Thus it finally penetrated the less hospitable regions of northern Europe.

From this steady, though tardy spread of civilization in the north of Europe, some small tribes, remote and almost unknown to the Roman world, but to which we trace our English speaking race, were curiously exempted. Before any rays of enlightenment had penetrated their deep forests or

shone across their morasses some portions of the Saxons and kindred tribes had left their inhospitable climate, traversed in the rude barks of those barbaric times the wild North Sea, and had attained a foothold in one little corner of the Island of Great Britain, where the germs of civilization had already sprouted under the influence of Roman power and learning, but had sprouted at the end of the season, as it were, when the warmth of the Roman summer was failing; sprouted to be nipped and to perish in the chillness which was beginning to creep toward the center of that magnificent ancient world. In regions where the season had been longer its germs survived, to be warmed into life again when the time came for the revival of learning. In these far off British Isles some germ might also have retained its vitality during the long, long, dark winter, had only the soil remained undisturbed. But these ruthless Anglo-Saxons, who had never yet learned to feel the slightest sympathy with the enlightenment with which they now came in contact, tore up its roots and exterminated every trace of it except a few walls, and roads, and names of places, and made a razed tablet for a new race history. Their brother Teutons, in the wilderness of northwestern Europe, were reached at last and conquered by Roman influence, though not by Roman arms, but these had cut themselves off from such influence and developed a civilization of their own.

The statement that the Anglo-Saxons cut themselves off from Roman influence must be taken in only a qualified sense. No people entirely cut off from exterior influence has ever attained any considerable advancement in what with us goes by the name of civilization. It may be that by civilization, we mean our civilization; but at any rate, as we use the term, civilization only exists to-day in those regions to which it has spread, and cannot be said in any instance to be indigenous. In this sense it may reasonably be claimed that the civilization in the British Isles, spreading from them over all parts of the world to which English speaking people have

penetrated, came from Rome. And in the same sense the civilization of Rome came from Greece, and that of Greece from some remote fountain head. All I mean to say is that the language, the laws, and the institutions of the Anglo-Saxons were indigenous with them, and were not subjected to the Roman influence until they had attained such definite individuality that they remained Teutonic, and did not become Latin; and this is especially noticeable in regard to the system of law. The Common Law, which is simply the development of the customary law of the Anglo-Saxons in England, has remained to this day a system wholly distinct from the Civil Law and the only system which has thus completely preserved its individuality, so that in the whole civilized world there are simply these two legal systems.

Each of these systems has had its course of development, during which it attained maturity and stability of form. The Civil Law was originally simply the customary law of the Roman city, symbolized to us by the so-called twelve tables, which, however, were evidently not the law itself nor any considerable part of it, but simply certain statutory modifications brought about by reason of some sort of social revolution in the Roman State. From this tangible beginning, as the result of many centuries of unconscious development and conscious change, it reached a definite form in the Code, the Digest, and the Institutes, prepared by Tribonian and his associates under the authority of the Emperor Justinian, reigning, by the way, at Constantinople, but representing the Latin race as it still existed in the Western world, though its political power was temporarily overthrown. From this definite form, still further developing, not longer, however, as the system administered by a political power, but now a part of the Roman civilization, it spread through Europe, suffered an eclipse with other enlightenment in the dark ages, revived again with the renaissance, and finally culminated in its most definite modern form in the Code Napoleon. The great Bonaparte may still be known as the ruler under whom a

system of law was perfected and given symmetrical shape, after mankind has ceased to admire or even to recognize his military genius.

The Common Law, as I have said, alone among the systems of civilized states, has a similarly complete and individual history. The laws of Alfred were simply the embodiment of the Anglo-Saxon customs. And from those customs, developing through many centuries, moulded, but by no means subverted, by the Norman conquest, grew up that endless chain of precedent which connects every principle of English law with the remotest antiquity. The system has felt the influence of the Civil Law, indeed, and there are some who rate such influence as fundamental and far reaching. Yet a careful investigation must show that it is superficial and not fundamental. As well claim that the prevalence of words of Latin-origin in polite speech shows English to be a Latin tongue, as to claim that the use by learned writers of the thirteenth century of phraseology borrowed from the Civil Law shows that system to be the basis of English law.

Those who sought education for ecclesiastical office and preferment usually went to Rome, and there, as a part of their education, studied the Civil Law, so that the Canon Law, or the law of the church, was based almost entirely upon the principles of that system. Moreover, the system of equity which became a source of rights and of remedies outside of those recognized by the Common Law, had also some roots in the Civil Law, as follows: The Norman kings and their successors down as late as the reign of Henry the Eighth, had, as one of the principal officers of state, an ecclesiastic as chancellor, whose function it was to serve as personal advisor, and, as it was said, keeper of the king's conscience. He had other official duties but it was in this capacity that he was personally related to the king, and it was in this capacity, too, that appeals for justice made to the king as the source of all justice and superior to the courts, were referred to him. Thus the chancellor was called upon to

decide questions not directly cognizable by the ordinary courts, requiring for their determination the application of principles of justice and equity not satisfactorily furnished by the Common Law. In this sense the chancellor did not administer the Common Law, for if the cause was to be decided by that system, there was no occasion for reference to him. And thus he had occasion to seek other guidance than that furnished by the rules of the Common Law courts. Such guidance he found largely in his conception of natural justice, but to some extent he found it also by reference to the more fully developed system of the Civil Law, and especially he found in the Canon Law, based on the Civil Law, forms of procedure more suitable for his purpose than those of the Common Law system, for he was confessedly to try cases to which the Common Law forms of action were not applicable, and he was to try them without a jury, which was essential to Common Law procedure.

It is difficult to say to what extent the system of equity growing up outside the law was indebted for its principles and procedure to the Civil Law. It is probable that it was the result of the needs and circumstances under which it was developed, to a much greater extent than of any extraneous influence; but to whatever extent the Civil Law did serve as a model or a source of equity jurisprudence, it has been far reaching in its results, for there is no question that although equity as a distinct system of rights and remedies is in name being contracted, and is likely to entirely disappear, yet, in fact, its benign principles have permeated every branch of the law, and both as to pleading and as to remedies, the law itself has been enlarged and ameliorated to give that recognition of rights and those convenient remedies, which for a long time could be had only in courts of equity.

The law of England became indebted to the Civil Law in still another way. Jurisdiction of maritime affairs was exercised by the Court of Admiralty, and as commerce was originally carried on most extensively by states and cities

recognizing the Civil Law, it was natural that in the admiralty court those principles should be followed, and the rights and the remedies should be in accordance therewith; so that to this day, jurisdiction of the admiralty courts is administered in accordance with Civil Law doctrines.

It is worthy of note that Scotland still has a system of jurisprudence based upon the Civil Law, which is doubtless due to the prevalence at her court during the time of her independence of the French influence. Her civilization was later in development than that of England and she had not therefore, a system of jurisprudence of her own to oppose to that of the alien power, so that she was an easy conquest.

The loyalty of England to her own rude system of law, and her jealousy of the encroachment of a foreign system are well illustrated by the contests of the Common Law courts, first, with the ecclesiastical courts, then with the courts of equity, and finally with the admiralty jurisdiction. Typical of these was the long struggle for supremacy between the Common Law courts, represented by Lord Coke, the Chief Justice, and the Court of Chancery, presided over by Lord Bacon. The question was whether chancery could enjoin the enforcement of a judgment of a court of law. Coke had back of him the prejudices of the people, Bacon was supported by the favor of the king. The imperious and arbitrary disposition of Coke was pitted against the duplicity and the sycophancy of Bacon. Coke was vanquished, but he had aroused such antagonism to the supremacy of the Court of Chancery that its pretensions to control the actions of courts of law were kept within narrow limits.

Conceding all that can reasonably be claimed as to the debt of the Common to the Civil Law, it remains unquestionable that the body of the law regulating the rights of English speaking people was Teutonic in its origin, and has retained, throughout its long development, its integrity and individuality.

It is apparent, therefore, that wherever the political power or civilization of the Latin races has come in conflict with that of the English race, such contest for supremacy has involved also the question of the prevalence of the Civil or the Common Law. A system of law can no more be adopted from an alien source, than can a system of language or of political institutions, and wherever the English speaking people have penetrated and become dominant, there has the Common Law prevailed. The question, therefore, whether the Civil Law should extensively influence, or more properly speaking, should be an element, in the civilization of the region west of the Mississippi, was determined by the same influences which determined whether that region should belong to the French or the Spaniards on the one hand, or to the English speaking people, on the other. The solution of that question depended upon events as old as the contest in the forests of Germany between the armed legions led by Varus, and the German barbarians, yet unchristianized, under their hero, Herman, or Arminius; upon whether the Angles and the Saxons should be successful in overthrowing Roman civilization in the south of England; whether the French and Spanish power should hold the discoveries and settlements made by De Soto and La Salle and Marquette, and all those daring explorers, who ascended the St. Lawrence, explored the great lake region, penetrated to the Mississippi, both at its mouth and at its source, and circumnavigated, as it were, the English settlements on the North American continent. That question depended upon the issue of the French and Indian war, and finally was determined by the concession to the United States of the territory covered by the Louisiana Purchase, and its settlement by emigrants from the English colonies.

The exact settlement of the question may be easily indicated: So long as Louisiana and the region claimed by reason of the French and Spanish discoveries and settlements belonged to France or to Spain, it may be said to have

been under the dominion of the Civil Law.¹ When by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the United States acquired jurisdiction over this region, it was divided into two parts, the Territory of Orleans, embracing, substantially, the present State of Louisiana, and the District (afterwards called Territory) of Louisiana, embracing the balance of the purchase. For the southern of these territories a government was provided by act of Congress, similar to that for the Territory of Mississippi, which was itself on the plan set out in the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio river, and to which reference will be made hereafter. Indeed, the beneficial provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 for the protection of the white inhabitants

¹ That this system of law not only prevailed in the settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi but extended over the whole region as far as any system of law can be said to prevail in a territory largely unoccupied and ungoverned, is shown by an incident of great historical interest in this connection, for an account of which I am indebted to Hon. T. S. Parvin, of this city, who became cognizant of the transaction as clerk of the United States District Court for Iowa, in which the facts were shown for the purpose of establishing a title. After the cession of the region covered by the Louisiana Purchase was made by France to Spain, and before its recession to France and purchase by the United States, a grant was made (about 1790) by the Spanish government to one Louis Honore Tesson of a tract of land situated at the head of the rapids of the Mississippi above where Keokuk now is, and forming a part of the present town of Montrose, in Lec county, Iowa. At this time the region was a part of the province of upper Louisiana, with capital at St. Louis. A creditor of Tesson at St. Louis sued him in the court there, and getting judgment, proceeded to cause levy to be made on this tract of land. The officer of the court went to the premises, took therefrom a spadeful of earth to represent the soil, a twig from an apple tree to represent the improvements, and an old kettle to represent the goods of the owner, and conveying these to St. Louis in a pirogue proceeded to sell the property by means of these emblems thereof, according to the formalities of the Civil Law. Proclamation of the sale having been made in front of the cathedral after high mass on three successive Sundays, on the fourth Sunday the property was struck off to Pierre Choteau the creditor, one of the early pioneers of St. Louis. A copy of the deed transferring the title under this judicial sale was introduced in the Federal Court in this State to establish the title thus acquired. Here we have, then, a judicial record of the fact that the Civil Law was once in force in what is now called Iowa.

in their rights as citizens and participants in a free government were directly extended to this territory as they had already been extended to the Territory of Mississippi, thus assuring to them trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus and the elective franchise, but, alas! the guaranty of exemption from the institution of slavery, which the Ordinance of 1787 had given the citizens of the Northwest Territory, was expressly denied.

For the northern portion a simpler government was provided, with capital at St. Louis, and for judicial purposes it was annexed for a short time to the Territory of Indiana, with capital at Vincennes, lately organized (on the admission of Ohio into the Union) out of the Northwest Territory. Afterward it was given a separate judiciary.

In the statutes of the United States for the government of these two territories it was specially provided, however, that the laws in force when the acts took effect should continue in force except as they should be inconsistent with such acts, or should be subsequently modified or repealed. By this language it was evidently intended that the Civil Law should continue to be the system of law for this region, except so far as modified by the introduction of jury trial, habeas corpus, and a republican form of government. It was specially provided as to the Territory of Orleans that the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, relating to estates and descent of property, should not be applicable, thus leaving in force the Civil Law as to real property.

In this Territory of Orleans which subsequently, on its admission, became the State of Louisiana, the Civil Law was expressly recognized by the adoption in 1808 of a Civil Code, substantially embodying the Code Napoleon, which had gone into effect in France in 1804 and had already been adopted, or was soon afterwards adopted, in the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy. Some modifications, due to the embodiment of laws introduced by Spanish authority, were made, but in the main the Code Napoleon remains to this day the basis of the juris-

prudence of the State of Louisiana relating to civil affairs. As to criminal law, the principles of the Common Law were introduced, entirely superseding those of the Roman system, and as already indicated, jury trial, even in civil cases, and the proceeding by habeas corpus were also introduced from the Common Law.

After the southern territory was admitted into the Union under the name of Louisiana, the northern territory was reorganized (1812) as the Territory of Missouri, and in this statute there was a still more complete embodiment of the principles of the Common Law and of a republican form of government. Indeed, nearly all the guaranties of rights and liberties found in the Ordinance of 1787 and in the Constitution of the United States were expressly made applicable to this territory, and it was provided that judicial proceeding should be according to the Common Law and the laws and usages in force in the said territory. By a territorial act (January 19, 1816, Territorial Laws of Missouri, Vol. I. page 436), the Common Law of England was adopted as the "rule of decision" so far as not in conflict with the "laws of this territory." To what extent these last provisions substituted the Common Law for the Civil Law it would be difficult to determine. The act of the legislature evidently contemplated the introduction of the Common Law, so far as not contrary to the Territorial statutes, and this system was doubtless thus extended over all the region embraced in the Territory of Missouri as then organized. As we shall immediately see, however, the Common Law was introduced in a more unequivocal way over that portion of this territory north of the present State of Missouri.

From 1820, when the State of Missouri with its present boundaries was admitted into the Union, the territory north of it remained without government until 1834, when that portion of it east of the Missouri and White Earth rivers, including, therefore, the present States of Iowa and Minnesota and a great part of the two Dakotas, was made part of the

Territory of Michigan¹ which then extended to the Mississippi river. The Territory of Michigan, as a part of the Northwest Territory, was subject to the Ordinance of 1787, and by this incorporation into the Michigan Territory what is now Iowa came directly and explicitly under this ordinance, the provisions of which, as has already been seen, were largely, although not completely, embodied in the laws governing the territories of which it had previously formed a part; and the Ordinance is therefore of interest to us because not merely indirectly but in the end directly, it was the groundwork upon which our state government was organized, and the state admitted into the Union.

It is proper to refer more fully, therefore, to the Ordinance of 1787, "for the government of the Territory of the United States, Northwest of the Ohio river," and it may at once be designated as one of the noblest works which the legislative genius of the English people has ever produced. It embodies those guaranties of liberty, equal representation, judicial procedure according to the Common Law, and the general protection of the law of the land, the inviolability of contract rights and the rights of habeas corpus and trial by jury, which form the characteristics of republican government on American soil. It will be noticed that it was adopted by the Congress of the Confederation before the Federal Constitution went into effect, but the convention which framed the Federal Constitution was in session at the very time of the adoption of this Ordinance and undoubtedly it is to be looked upon simply as the forerunner and first embodiment of those principles which were already being discussed and incorporated into the Constitution itself.

Thus it was, then, that the territory now constituting the State of Iowa, first by the incorporation with the Territory

¹ Act of Congress of June 28, 1834, 4 Stat. at Large, 701, which gave to the inhabitants of the annexed Territory the same "privileges and immunities" and subjected them "to the same laws, rules, and regulations, in all respects, as the other citizens of Michigan Territory."

of Michigan, subsequently as a part of the Territory of Wisconsin after the State of Michigan was admitted into the Union, finally as a Territory by itself, and then as a State, inherited by definite provisions the Common Law of England.¹

But these technical provisions of Congressional enactments, interesting as they may be, are not the foundation of our right to the Common Law. The prevailing system of law for a people is determined rather by the nationality of that people than by any proclamation or code of legislation. The portions of the Louisiana Purchase settled by the French and Spaniards retained the Civil Law because it was the law of the people. Had the emigration into the purchase continued from French and Spanish sources the Civil Law would undoubtedly have spread over the whole region. But as a matter of fact the tide of emigration to this new country was not through Louisiana from France and Spain, but was from the English colonies to the east, and those emigrants brought with them the Common Law. That our peculiar legislative history is not the fundamental cause of the prevalence of the Common Law here is illustrated by the cases of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and all the states formed out of portions of the Louisiana Purchase west of the Missouri river over which the Ordinance of 1787 was never extended, but where the principles of the Common Law have prevailed without doubt or question. It was just as inevitable that the proceedings of the courts for such a people should be in accordance with the Common Law and not with the Civil Law, as that the language used by these courts in their proceedings should be the English language and not the French or Spanish. The people settling these regions and bringing them within the bounds of civilization and government took the Common

¹ In tracing the legislative history of the territory embraced in the State of Iowa I have been greatly aided by, and have largely relied upon, an article entitled "Historical Bibliography of the Statute Law of Iowa," by Hon. T. L. Cole, of Washington, D. C., in the Law Bulletin of the State University of Iowa, Number Two.

Law under the bows of their covered wagons just as unconsciously and certainly as they took the Yankee, or the New York, or the Pennsylvania brogue, and the belief in civil liberty, and the conviction that this was to be a mighty country. Had the emigration come from the Latin population pouring into Louisiana, the history would have been different, as indeed it would have been, had Varus overcome Arminius, or had the Saxons not invaded Great Britain, or had England instead of France been defeated in the great contest for the regions north and west of the original English colonies.

Thus it was, too, that the Common Law was carried into the regions acquired from Mexico, so that in Texas and in California the law is not that form of the Civil Law which prevailed there by inheritance from Spain but is as pure and complete an embodiment of Common Law principles as is found anywhere within the limits of the United States. The only monuments of the previous existence of Mexican laws and institutions are the titles to lands derived through the old Spanish and Mexican grants. In Florida where the Civil Law was introduced by the Spanish, it was specially provided by legislation, on the admission of the state into the Union, that the Common Law should prevail. In every state of the Union, except Louisiana, the Common Law has been recognized as the system which the people brought with them, or adopted as that best suited to a republican form of government.

It would seem that in general there has been a natural pride among the English speaking people in America, that they have the Common Law. But the bitterness of the struggle for Independence, and of the subsequent struggle in the War of 1812 for recognition as a power entitled to respect among the civilized nations of the world, has sometimes led to an attempt to disclaim the inheritance of the English judicial system. Nowhere, so far as I know, has there been any inclination to resent the adoption and recognition of the Common Law as such. But in respect to parliamentary modifica-

tions of the Common Law, especially such modifications as were made during the colonial period, there has been at times a strong effort to reject them entirely. Thus in several states it been provided, either by constitutional or statutory enactment, that the laws of England or the decisions of its courts shall not be recognized or cited, and an early territorial legislature of Iowa enacted a statute declaring that no statutes of Great Britain should be recognized in this territory,—a foolish piece of bravado, which as the court of Iowa pointed out, would, if made effectual, deprive us of all those ameliorating statutes which were so instrumental in changing the Common Law from the judicial system of barbarous times to a system applicable to a civilized people, a result which the court was able to avoid by a most ingenious and satisfactory use of the power of judicial construction.¹ In New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Kentucky it was enacted that no decision or treatise by a British judge or author, made or published subsequently to our independence, should be cited in the courts, and indeed in Kentucky it was only the influence of Henry Clay that prevented the passage of the resolution in such form as to exclude the citation of the decision of any British tribunal or the treatise of any British writer.² That this attitude was the result of temporary irritation and not of a settled antipathy to the Common Law as a system is proved by the fact that Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, first published in 1765, were constantly cited before, during and after the Revolution, in the courts of America, and attained, it is said, a larger sale during those years in the American colonies than they had in England.

It may not be uninteresting, in conclusion, to notice, briefly, the essential differences between the Civil and the Common

¹ The court decided that statutes of Great Britain meant statutes passed subsequently to the Union between England and Scotland (1707) and not statutes passed prior to that date. *O'Ferrall v. Simplot*, 4 Iowa, 381.

² McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Vol. III.

Law, in order that, if we should see fit to give ourselves to a somewhat trite, but still fascinating, speculation as to what might have been, we may know whether we ought to regard it as a great fortune or a great misfortune that this magnificent valley, which is destined to become the most thickly populated portion of our country, has fallen under the dominion of the latter and not of the former.

I think it must be said frankly that the Civil Law is the product of a higher civilization than that under which the Common Law has been developed. Perhaps we might not agree in the use of the term "civilization." But I take it that no unprejudiced person will claim that there is yet so high a state of enlightenment and advancement in the arts and sciences, in literature, in the amenities of life, and in luxury, among the inhabitants of Great Britain or of the United States as among the educated classes of the European continent. Certainly in the United States, where people claiming to belong to the best classes participate in the atrocities of lynch law, and where the newspaper press either condones or openly applauds such outrages, no great claim can be made to a high state of civilization. But if I am using civilization in the correct sense, then it must be said that it is a self-limiting process: that it tends to thwart its own growth, to sap its own vitality, and that the civilization of the future will not be with those peoples where it has now reached its highest point. Indeed, I think it takes no strongly prophetic eye to see the prospect, at least, that in the future some Slavic or other race, now deemed little better than barbaric, will have outstripped not only the Latin, but the Teuton as well, in the struggle for ultimate supremacy. The race of the finest nerve is not likely to be that of the longest endurance.

And yet, because when the Civil Law first came into contact with the Common Law, the one was the system of a high civilization while the other was the system of men yet little better than savages (for I take it that the man of Shakespeare's time even, was only civilized on the surface, and for

special occasions), we are not necessarily to yield to the assertions of those who claim such great supremacy for the Civil Law. It must be remembered that the Roman system has developed no new principles in centuries while the Common Law as we know it has been practically made in the last two hundred years. It is true it can trace its precedents back to Edward the First, but no decision rendered prior to the time of Elizabeth can be counted as of anything but historical value, and, indeed, in the citation of cases for practical purposes no one dreams of going back of the time of Blackstone, a period of only a century and a quarter.

As an illustration of the higher civilization embodied in the Civil Law as compared with the Common Law, there would be general unanimity, I think, in referring to the condition of married women under the two systems. I say emphatically, married women, for though it is often assumed that by reason of her sex, woman as such is by the Common Law degraded and wronged, yet the fact is that the Common Law has always recognized the perfect equality in property rights, in power to make contracts, in the vindication of her liberties, and the protection of her property between the unmarried woman and the man. The unmarried woman, under the institutions of England, which are still largely prevalent in the United States, is not entitled to the elective franchise, nor to hold public office, but those are mere political privileges having no relations to her civil rights. It was only as an incident of marriage that by the Common Law, the woman lost her power to own or control property, to make contracts, or to bring suits in the courts. But it must not be forgotten that with these disadvantages, she had a total exemption from liability under her contracts, and was in many ways granted immunity from the burdens of legal relations. As contrasted, however, with this inequality in the condition of the married woman under the Common Law it is usual to refer to the doctrines of the Civil Law as illustrating a higher appreciation of her intelligence and legal capabilities. By that

system in its present form, she may own property independently of her husband, she may make contracts, and indeed, she is in most respects in the same legal position as a woman unmarried. But this situation is not due to any inherent principles of the Civil Law, indicating a higher reverence and respect for the married woman. By the earlier Civil Law, she became absolutely the property of her husband, and everything she had became his in his complete individual right. She passed under her husband's hand by marriage, as completely as a chattel passed under his hand, when he made a purchase of it and paid the price. Indeed, the original theory of the Civil Law with reference to the entire domestic relations was that the head of the family had over all its members, including his wife, his sons, whether of age or not, and their families, the most absolute and despotic power, a power extending to the control of the entire family property, and the personal supervision of every member. Advancing enlightenment ameliorated these laws, and finally brought about the present independence of married women. The same amelioration has been brought about by advancing civilization, although at a later period, in the Common Law, and to-day, there is probably no state in the Union in which the rights of married woman to her property, to her personal liberty, to her freedom from control are not as complete as they are in countries recognizing the Civil Law.¹

The system of pleadings, or written presentations of the claims of the respective parties, prevailing in the Civil Law, may be considered as quite superior to pleadings at the Common Law which involved a great technicality and nicety of

¹ It is doubtful whether the amelioration of the Common Law as to married women's rights was due in any way to the Civil Law. *In Mississippi, where one of the first statutes on the subject was passed—in 1839, I think—some said the change was adopted from the laws of the Chickasaw Indians among whom there was perfect equality among the sexes, whilst others attributed the passage of the statute to the efforts of a member of the legislature who was the suitor for the hand of a rich widow whose property he wished to exempt, after his marriage, from liability to be taken for his debts.

statement, and were calculated to exhibit the ingenuity of the attorney in concealing the facts upon which he would rely at the trial, rather than in enlightening the opposite party or the court as to the exact nature of the matter before it. On the other hand, in the Civil Law the system of pleading involves a statement of the material facts upon which the party relies, and which he expects to prove; and such a method of statement is advantageous, in that it may be made to present, by mutual eliminations, only the controverted questions, so as to develop the very point on which the parties really differ. It is the advantage of this method of pleading that has led to its adoption in the Canon Law, in Equity, and in Admiralty, as the proper method of presenting to the court, which is to pass on the whole case, without the assistance of a jury, the very questions for its decision. But in this comparison, we are after all, setting off the Civil Law in its highest state of perfection against the Common Law in its cruder state, for the development of the Common Law, both in the United States and in England has led to the universal adoption of a system of pleading, not greatly different from that of the Civil Law, and constantly tending to become more like it, in which the contentions of the parties are fully set out, and the very facts on which they rely are clearly stated, and it is doubtful whether at this time there is any material difference between the methods of stating facts in the two systems as perfected. It may frankly be admitted, I think, that lawyers are going even beyond the principles of the reformed or code pleading, in stating their facts, and in approaching, or even surpassing the prolixity which the Civil Law has always permitted.

The substantial difference between the Civil and the Common Law in the matter of procedure, consists in the mode of trial. By the Civil Law, all the questions in controversy have usually been left to the judge for decision, while by the theory of the Common Law, still generally preserved, questions of fact are submitted to the determination of a jury, composed of

persons not learned in the law, nor especially trained for the discharge of their functions, but simply the peers and fellows of those whose rights they are to determine. The history of this peculiar feature of the Common Law need not here be discussed, nor need its relative merits or demerits be considered. Suffice it to say that on the question of whether the jury system should be modified or abolished, there is now the greatest diversity of opinion, and it is likely that in all of the Common Law countries, some change which shall obviate the most serious objections to the jury trial will soon be introduced. The advantages of the Civil Law method of trial are recognized with us by adopting it in the equity courts. But the advantages of the Common Law system of trial by jury are also recognized by the adoption in European countries to a limited extent, of jury trial in criminal cases.

But coupled with this Common Law method of trial, must be considered, also, another feature which is its great and most marked peculiarity, and that is its rigid adherence to precedent. No other characteristic of the system has brought upon it such severe criticism, animadversion and ridicule. The lawyer, under this system, is represented as a machine, devoid of moral sensibility, searching merely for precedents, which he may by ingenious devices pervert into instruments for doing injustice. The judge is regarded as a stickler for technicality, anxious to find some ancient rule or forgotten precedent, in accordance with which he may deny to parties their rights. While in opposition to this system of technicality and blind following of precedent is set up an ideal system in which the lawyers ask only that justice may be done, and the judges following the dictates of their own consciences and entirely emancipated from any other control, seek only to attain moral right. A distinguished judge, whose lasting monument it is that he reduced to form and definiteness the fluctuating principles of equity once said that he should be sorry to have it understood that the rights of a party in his court were to be determined by the size of the

judge's foot, meaning to express thereby a great truth, which has been too little recognized in determining the expediency of a judicial system, that not any judge's personal peculiarities, or his individual opinions as to right and wrong, not the size of his foot, nor the size of his conscience, nor the strength of his judgment, nor the bias of his mind, should determine the rights of parties, but some fixed, definite, certain, reliable system of rules and principles, precedents you may call them if you will, in accordance with which decisions will be made, decisions which shall, therefore, be as free as the result of human action can be from the variations due to the personal element. It is a distinguishing merit of the Common Law that it has eliminated so far as possible from the decision of legal questions the personal equation. And in order to more effectually accomplish this result, so far as the law itself is concerned, it has vested those matters which are peculiarly subject to varying and uncertain opinion, that is, the facts in the case depending upon the credibility of witnesses, and all such elements of uncertainty, in a separate tribunal, the jury, so that the judge is left as the priest to a formal system, which prescribes to him fully his duties, and leaves in him little discretion or power to exercise individual judgment.

The theory of the Common Law is that stability and certainty are, on the whole, better than the fluctuating rule of abstract right. Indeed, it is astonishing to find how few questions can be decided as matters of abstract right, and how greatly preponderating is the number in which the common conscience would decree that it is the law which makes the right.

As opposed to this system of precedent in which each case is decided by analogy to other cases, the Civil Law system is built up on abstract principles and general theories. It, too, was originally founded on a body of precedents, but the precedents were the theoretical opinions of learned men, not chargeable with any special duty to the parties in the controversy, giving their views on hypothetical cases. Now it

may as well be said here, that no branch of science or scientific knowledge has made any true advancement, or attained from the present age any substantial recognition, which has been developed by theoretical reasoning. We recognize only those things as a perfection of our knowledge which are ascertained by the investigation of facts. We pursue the deductive method, whether in natural science, in metaphysics, in politics, or in history. We search carefully, even minutely, for the particular facts, and from them, cautiously, and with hesitation, we draw our conclusions. Deduction is not exclusive of induction, nor ever can be, but the basis of our knowledge is deductive, and it is with caution and distrust that we make generalizations.

Thus it is that the the methods of the Common Law are after all more consonant with our modern civilization and scientific theories than those of the Civil Law. And thus it is that the Common Law has developed, and as I believe, without question will develope, into a broader, more substantial, more reliable and more adaptable system of jurisprudence than can ever be evolved from the Civil Law system.

And as a system for a free people, our Common Law is pre-eminently entitled to preference. Mistakes of the jury do not shake the confidence in the integrity of the judiciary. The fact that the judge is administering a system over which he has no control, and is applying rules which give him no discretion in the exercise of his judgment, relieves him from personal accountability for the result, though it may seem a hardship to the suitor. And if we compare that great respect for the law which is the peculiar characteristic of English speaking people, and their confidence in the courts, which is manifested in the peaceful acquiescence in the exercise by them of higher authority than that of the executive or legislative branch, an authority so high that it may overthrow the executive or legislative, in order to maintain the law, I say, if we compare this respect for the law and courts, prevailing uniformly among English speaking peoples with the disrespect

and distrust which is felt toward the judge in France, who is looked upon as a mere functionary of the government, sent out from the central power to execute his own arbitrary will, and generally believed to be in league with the other officers of the government in the maintenance of their authority, and to be so influenced by personal interests that a political opponent cannot have justice before him, we must frankly admit that the Common Law has established its claim to be the best system for a republican government.

The Common Law is at bottom a law for independent people who seek principally to be let alone. It is not a paternal system. Sumptuary laws in England—I mean sumptuary laws in their proper sense, passed for the supposed protection of the subject against his own folly, not police regulations which prevent the pursuit of a business which is a nuisance to the public—were not in harmony with it, though they were sometimes imposed by arbitrary monarchs. The development of the Common Law has been in the line of freedom of contract, and of protection to self-development.

In the light of these considerations, I believe we may say not only that the Civil Law has had but slight influence on the general civilization of Iowa, but also that it is our great advantage and good fortune that this influence has been so slight, and that we have been inheritors of another system better suited to our conditions as a people, and better fitted to promote our continued advancement in civilization and enlightenment.

HISTORICAL LECTURES

UPON

EARLY LEADERS IN THE PROFESSIONS

IN

THE TERRITORY OF IOWA.

DELIVERED AT

IOWA CITY.

1894.

IOWA CITY, IOWA:
PUBLISHED BY THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1894.

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HISTORICAL LECTURES.



THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA presents a series of lectures upon the early professional men and women of Territorial days.

Pioneer physicians, teachers, lawyers, and clergymen did noble work in the making of Iowa and they deserve the memory of a grateful people.

The Historical Society determined to secure the most reliable information attainable before the actors had passed beyond recollection.

It was not a difficult matter to obtain the history of early physicians, teachers, and lawyers from a representative man of each of these professions. But search for one man who could relate the early struggles of the clergy proved a failure since acquaintance of each man appealed to was limited largely to those of his own denomination.

The history of the clergy is therefore not in the form of a lecture but is a compilation of the knowledge of many. Credit is given to the sources of information cheerfully opened to the compiler.

The lectures are as follows:

Early Medical Practitioners. Dr. WILLIAM WATSON,
Dubuque.

Early Teachers. Prof. LEONARD F. PARKER, Grinnell.

Early Members of the Bar. Hon. THEODORE S. PARVIN,
Cedar Rapids.

Early Clergy. Compilation by J. L. PICKARD, Iowa City.

EARLY MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS.



ANY attempt to give a sketch of "The Physicians and Medical Practice of Early Days in Iowa" would be incomplete if it did not include a resumé of the status of medical science at that date. It will also be well to fix a definite limit as to what is to be included in "Early Days in Iowa." The close of the Civil War, is to the present generation and in the development of the State, the beginning of a new era—a date that may appropriately be taken as closing the "Early Days in Iowa."

From the first permanent settlement in 1833 to 1865, embraces a period of thirty-two years. This is again readily divided by the date of our admission as a State, December 28th, 1846. The pioneers of the first period were engaged in laying the foundations of a State; those of the second in its development, in giving form and character to its future, in organizing its permanent institutions, in selecting the best features presented by the representatives of the older States and in seeking to harmonize and modify them so as to adapt them to the new communities. In such labors the members of the medical profession seldom occupied an obscure position, in fact they were often entitled to more prominence than was accorded them. It may not be generally known that the first permanent settlers of Iowa, after the death of Julien Dubuque in 1810, and the first executive officer (or Governor), belonged to the medical profession.

In 1820 Dr. Samuel C. Muir, Surgeon U. S. Army, at Fort Edwards (now Warsaw), built a block house at Keokuk.

He subsequently resigned his position in the army and removed to his claim; but, having no field for business he went to the "Galena mines" where he practiced his profession for ten years. After his return to Keokuk he died of cholera in 1832.

In 1829 Dr. Isaac Galland settled six miles above Keokuk at what is now Nashville. The first civil legislation or law making in Iowa of which I find any record was in June, 1830, at a meeting of miners held on the island near the present Jones Street Levee in Dubuque. A committee of five were elected who drew up rules and regulations in relation to the holding and working of mining claims. These were adopted and Dr. Jarote was elected to hold the articles of agreement, with authority to grant letters of arbitration when applied for, he thus becoming the first civil executive officer in the State.

The lack of conveniences and comforts incident to a new community develops in its pioneers the ability of substitution and a readiness in adapting themselves to their surroundings, together with a freedom of action and an absence of conventionalism that, in the minds of many persons, are associated with the lack of education, culture, and refinement. It is true that among the pioneers of nearly every community were representatives of a class who, having been reared on the frontier, had kept in the vanguard of the settlements, in whom the slightest constraints of a permanent community developed a desire to move on and give place to those who organized and gave character to the institutions of the future. Among this class were representative medical men who secured a standing but did not remain long enough to leave their impress upon the community. Those who think that the physicians who had the care and confidence of the people in those days were uneducated, ignorant pretenders, are in error, for although such pretenders were found in every community, and had their following, they were not generally relied on. The physicians, like the other settlers, were either young, or men still in the prime of life. Among the former were often found the

leaders of their respective classes; men who were not content to take, or to continue to occupy, a subordinate position; men who were conscious of their ability, and sought a field where they could exercise it, without waiting for nature, or Providence, to make a vacancy.

There were those who had a less creditable record; men who had good reasons for leaving their former homes, reasons they did not care to explain, and still others, whose habits furnished all the explanation necessary. It would not be just to claim that this latter class were without patients, and sympathizing friends, as such an element existed in all new settlements, especially in the river and mining towns.

It is well known the first attempt at permanent settlement, other than a trading post, was made at Dubuque, in 1830, but the miners were driven out by troops from Prairie Du Chien, who guarded the mines until the summer of 1832 when, by a compromise, the miners were permitted to camp on the island, which came to be regarded as neutral ground. Here a smelting furnace was built to reduce the ore bought of the Indians. Thus an embryo town existed on the border, and was speedily transferred to the mainland, during May and June, 1833, as the vigilance of the troops relaxed upon the approach of the date fixed by treaty for its occupation. Such was the alacrity displayed after June 1st that in a few weeks four or five hundred had established themselves in the town or in its immediate vicinity; among them were one or two physicians. Dr. John B. Stoddard came in June, subsequently Dr. Hamlin, and in September the sign of Dr. Andros was added to the list. Dr. Stoddard was not a graduate; he had been a hospital steward in an Illinois regiment during the Black Hawk War. Knowing a little of medicine he took occasion to make the most of it. He did not remain long, but getting into a difficulty in which he killed his man, left quite suddenly. Dr. Hamlin is remembered as a cultivated gentleman, who secured the confidence of those who employed him, and the respect of all he met. Dr. F. Andros was a native of Massachusetts, and at this time was

not thirty years of age: he was a graduate of Brown University in both the literary and medical departments. He secured a fair share of business, but his health failing, he removed to Clayton county in the fall of 1837, and engaged in farming. He located near the present site of Garnavillo, being thirteen miles from a neighbor. He was thus the first physician to locate in north-eastern Iowa. He was appointed surgeon at Ft. Atkinson and the Winnebago Agency; in 1845, when the agency was removed to Minnesota, he accompanied it. Returning to Garnavillo, in 1854, he removed to McGregor in 1861, where he practiced thirteen years, removing to Decorah in 1874. Here he practiced until 1882, when he went to Mitchell, South Dakota, where he still resides, at the ripe age of ninety, being undoubtedly the earliest and oldest practitioner of the State. During his earlier years he served his fellow citizens in nearly every office within their gift, and was a member of the Territorial Legislature in 1843. As a physician he enjoyed the confidence of the community, was called far and near to do the surgery that was needed, and in consultation in serious cases. He has given some accounts of the ignorance and blunders in diagnosis of some of the pretenders he met, the perusal of which might be amusing, but not in line with the aim of this paper, which is rather to chronicle the conditions and results of the labors of those who, at that time, represented the profession, as we recognize it.

Among others who located in Dubuque during this earlier period, some of whom became permanently identified with the community, were Dr. John W. Finley and Dr. Stephen Langworthy, who came in 1836, Dr. Ambrose Crane, in 1837, and Dr. R. S. Lewis, in 1844. Dr. Langworthy, whose four sons were among the earliest settlers, was a native of northern New York, and a surgeon in the war of 1812. He emigrated to Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1817, and followed his four sons to Dubuque in 1836. He settled on a farm just north of the city and did not engage extensively in practice, but cheerfully responded to the numerous requests to aid his afflicted neighbors.

Dr. John W. Finley, a native of Kentucky, whose ancestors were from North Carolina, was a good type of the inhabitants of that State. Standing over six feet, spare, but sinewy, he was well calculated to endure the labor that fell to his lot. He came from Louisiana, Missouri, having attended school at Jacksonville, Illinois, and graduated in medicine at Cincinnati, under the teaching of Drake, Mussey and Gross. Though without that suavity of manner or polished culture that are valued so highly by many physicians and patrons, his kindness of heart and deep interest in his cases, with an entire absence of pretense or assumed superiority over others, secured to him the confidence of his patrons, his colleagues, and the community in general, to a greater extent than falls to the lot of the average practitioner. During the earlier years of his practice, he made long journeys to the scattered settlements of the interior, often going a distance of forty or fifty miles. These trips were made on horseback, partly over trails, and often across the country from one well known point to another. Not unfrequently the trip would be extended, and the return route varied by a subsequent call to see another patient, who, having heard a physician was expected, had left a message to secure his services, thus delaying his return and causing anxiety to his family. He was engaged in practice nearly forty years including the two years he was in the army as surgeon of the 37th or Greybeard Regiment. He died in 1877, from disease of the brain, resulting from an injury received twenty years before, having been thrown from his carriage. He was a careful, prudent man, at one time was wealthy; became involved through trusting in others, but, recovering himself, he left quite an estate. When well situated, he planned to build a hospital. At the death of his wife, the Finley Hospital was made the residuary legatee of his estate. It has since been organized, and is located in his old home, and regarded as a model of success and usefulness.

Dr. Crane had a decided inclination for surgery. His ability as a surgeon was soon recognized, and he secured a

full share of that practice during the twelve years he remained. He removed to California in 1849.

Dr. Lewis was an active practitioner here for a quarter of a century, the earlier years including much hard labor. During the whole period a warm friendship existed between him and Dr. Finley. Thorough, unassuming and honorable, he enjoyed the respect of all he met, and in an especial degree the confidence of his patrons. Having been his business associate for fifteen years I can speak confidently of his sterling worth.

The first settlements made in Scott county were at Buffalo and Rockingham. Dr. E. S. Barrows was the first physician to settle in the county for practice. He located at Rockingham in the spring of 1836. His professional neighbors were Dr. E. Reynolds, of Geneva, Dr. Bardwell and Dr. Patrick Gregg, of Rock Island, who may, with propriety, be included in this connection, as Dr. Bardwell settled for a time in the western part of Scott county, and subsequently removed to Marion, Linn county, being one of the early practitioners of that section. Dr. Gregg was a warm personal friend of Dr. Barrows during the half century they were professional neighbors; he was often called on the Iowa side of the river, especially in consultation in difficult cases.

Dr. A. C. Donaldson, of Pennsylvania, was the first physician to locate in Davenport. He is said to have been well qualified for practice, but not finding in the sparse settlements the field he desired, after remaining two years he removed to St. Louis and afterwards to California, where he died. After the settlement of the county seat question in favor of Davenport, Dr. Barrows removed there. He soon secured a good practice, and was regarded as the leading physician, possessing the confidence of the community, and for more years than falls to the lot of the majority of physicians, he did a large practice. As a citizen he was ever ready to aid in any good work that was for the welfare of the community. With the advance of years he became less active, but never lost interest in the profession to which his life was devoted. He died at the ad-

vanced age of ninety-two, mourned by those among whom he had lived more than half a century.

Dr. Z. Grant located in the north part of the county in 1835, where he practiced until his death in 1844.

Among the early settlers of Muscatine county were Dr. Eli Reynolds, who came in 1835. Dr. John W. Foster, in 1836, and Dr. George W. Fitch, in 1838. All were more or less engaged in other pursuits, giving some attention to the practice of medicine. Dr. Reynolds was a town proprietor, and engaged in farming. His projected town of Geneva not proving a success, he removed to Bloomington, now Muscatine. Dr. Foster was engaged in merchandise. Dr. Fitch was also a business man, but retained his interest in the profession to the time of his death in 1847. Dr. Blades and Dr. George Reeder were among the earlier practitioners. Dr. Charles Drury located at Moscow, in 1836, and Dr. J. M. Robertson, at Columbus City, Louisa county, in 1838. Dr. Robertson was a leading practitioner and a prominent citizen of that vicinity for thirty years, when he removed to Muscatine, where he died December 30th, 1878, respected and regretted by a large circle of friends. He was one of the organizers of the State Medical Society, and an active member, and while serving in the State Legislature he took an active interest in the State institutions. His son, Dr. W. S. Robertson, was in the army as Major of the 5th infantry: afterwards was an active worker in the profession, and in the State Medical Society, and by his labors with the Legislature exerted great influence in securing the establishment of the institution for the care and education of the feeble minded. He was active in securing the organization of the State Board of Health, and was chosen its first President. He was also Professor of Theory and Practice in the Medical Department of the State University.

Dr. Charles O. Waters, a native of New York, and a graduate of Jefferson Medical College, settled in Muscatine, in 1844, where he practiced several years, until his health compelled him to seek other occupations. He was a fine scholar, taking

an active interest in the progress and welfare of the community. In seeking to exert an influence he resorted to his pen, and developed such an adaptation for newspaper work that after the failure of his health he became connected with the religious press, and a series of weekly letters begun for his own gratification were valued so highly that they were continued for a third of a century. He was widely known and universally respected. He died in May, 1893.

The first permanent settlement at Burlington was made in 1833. Dr. W. R. Ross came in July, from Quincy, Illinois, bringing a small stock of drugs, medicines and groceries. Dr. Cutler came in 1834, and died young, in 1837.

Dr. Seth S. Ransom located in October, 1837. He was a graduate of the Vermont Medical College, a well educated, able man, a successful practitioner and a public spirited citizen, ever ready to aid any enterprise projected for the good of the community where he had made his home. He was for many years the leading physician; as time rolled on and later arrivals strove by faithful work to excel him, they only succeeded in dividing with him the honors of public esteem. He died in December, 1874.

Dr. L. W. Hickok, a good physician and worthy citizen, came in 1838. He was subsequently in business with Dr. Lowe, until the latter's removal to Council Bluffs. He enjoyed the confidence of the community, and secured his share of patronage during the ten years he lived among them; he died in 1848.

Dr. Enos Lowe, a native of North Carolina, a graduate of the Ohio Medical College, located here in 1837. He secured a good business and standing—practicing with Dr. Campbell until his death, and then with Dr. Hickok until 1845, when he removed to Council Bluffs, having been appointed receiver of the land office by President Polk. He removed to Omaha in 1854. During the war he was surgeon of the 5th Iowa cavalry, a regiment in which there was a battalion of Nebraska troops. He died in 1880.

Dr. John F. Henry, a native of Kentucky, located in Burlington in August, 1845. He served in the war of 1812 as surgeon's mate, and was with General Harrison in his campaign in north-western Ohio. After the war he applied himself to the study of medicine, and graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1817, and at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, of New York, in 1818. He subsequently located in Cincinnati, where, from 1830 to 1834, he was connected with the Medical College of Ohio as Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women. During this period Cincinnati was visited by cholera, enabling him to obtain an experience of value when he met the disease again at Burlington, in 1850 to 1856. He was a man of ability, of studious habits and literary tastes, enthusiastic in his love for the profession. He made some valuable contributions to journals and medical societies. Among them an article on cholera and its treatment, based upon his observations in the epidemic of 1832 and 1833, and again in 1850-56. He also presented a report on the topography, climate and diseases of Iowa, which he read before the Iowa State Medical Society in 1851. Some brief references to diseases and their treatment as he observed them will be noticed in this paper. He was one of the organizers of the Iowa State Medical Society, was interested in sustaining it, and was its President in 1861. He retired from active practice in 1860, but continued to visit his old personal friends and in consultation. He left a memory cherished by a large circle of friends when he died in 1873.

The first permanent settler of Lee county was Dr. Samuel C. Muir, who built a trading post in 1820. Dr. Isaac Galland settled at Nashville, in 1829. Ft. Madison was settled in 1832, Dr. Campbell Gilmer being the first physician to locate there. Dr. Joel C. Walker came in 1836. Dr. J. P. Stephenson located in Denmark at about the same time. Of others who located previous to 1847, I have failed in my effort to procure reliable data.

Dr. John D. Elbert settled in 1840, at Keosauqua, Van

Buren county, then on the extreme frontier. He was a native of Kentucky; his parents removed to Ohio when he was six years of age. His father was a surgeon in the army in the war of 1812. Dr. Elbert's education was only such as the common schools afforded; being studious and ambitious he profited by such books as he could get access to. In 1829 he was licensed to practice by a Board of which Dr. Daniel Drake was President. After locating at Keosauqua he soon became prominent as a surgeon, having an extensive practice in south-eastern Iowa and northern Missouri. His labors and aspirations were not confined to his profession, but extended to other interests and enterprises. He was a member of the Territorial Legislature in 1842, and was one of the company that laid out Ottumwa in 1843. He was ever ready to aid any enterprise that appealed to his judgment as of benefit to the community or the profession. He was one of the charter members of the Iowa State Medical Society,—was its President in 1852, and took an active interest in it during his life. He died in March, 1865, sincerely mourned by a large circle of personal friends and the community who had learned to prize his kindness and his genial manners during the twenty-five years he had resided among them.

Dr. Rufus H. Wyman, of the University of Pennsylvania, located in Bonaparte, Van Buren county, in 1846, where he soon acquired a good practice. In 1855 he removed to Keokuk, to become the partner of Dr. John F. Sandford. They did an extensive and lucrative business; his professional career was one of marked success. He was surgeon in the army a year, when failing health caused him to resign. He died February 11th, 1881.

Among other names that come to us of this date are those of Dr. E. A. Boyer, who settled in Mahaska county, in 1843, and of Dr. Ware and Dr. Heikleman who were in Wapello county, at the same date. Dr. Ware removed to Fairfield, where he resided many years. The first physician of Henry county, whose name I have been able to obtain was Dr.

Payne, who located at Mt. Pleasant early in the forties and practiced until his death about 1847.

Dr. Thomas Seiveter located at Salem in 1845. He was a Quaker by birth and education, a graduate of a London College, thoroughly educated in his profession with a taste and aptness for surgery that would have made him successful and prominent had he located where there was a wider field for such services. He was a charter member, and twice President of the Iowa State Medical Society. He lived to be more than ninety, nearly half a century of it in his Iowa home.

The pioneer physician to locate at Ottumwa was Dr. C. C. Warden, who settled there in July, 1843. He was not a graduate in medicine, but, being a man of much force of character and good common sense, he secured the confidence of the people and was prominent while he continued in practice. He subsequently engaged in mercantile business and still resides in Ottumwa where his home has been for half a century.

Johnson county received some settlers in 1837, with a marked increase after the Territorial Legislature, at its session in the fall of 1838, provided for the location of the capital within its limits, which resulted in the selection of this beautiful site. Dr. Henry Murray, a graduate of Louisville, was the first resident physician. Drs. Samuel Ballard, Ezra Bliss and Jesse Bowen located here subsequently and were successful practitioners. Dr. Murray became well known throughout this and the adjoining counties. Beloved and trusted by all, he was spared forty years to enjoy the esteem and confidence he so highly prized and richly merited.

During the period we have been considering we find the names of a number of professional men, who were engaged in other pursuits. In 1830 Dr. Jarote was mining at Dubuque. In 1834 Dr. W. R. Ross was a merchant at Burlington. In 1836 Dr. John W. Foster was similarly engaged at Muscatine. In 1838 Dr. S. J. Tryon was County Clerk, at Marion, Linn county. In 1840 Dr. Tuthill, of Tipton, aban-

doned medicine for law and the bench in which he was successful. He afterwards engaged in banking, acquiring a competency. At about the same date Dr. S. G. Maston settled in Jones county, engaged in practice and farming, being also a member of the first Constitutional Convention and of the first and second State Legislatures. In 1846 Dr. T. K. Brooks was a business man at Des Moines.

Having thus briefly noted some of the first to locate and some who became permanent and prominent in the earlier settlements, before discussing their practice it will be proper to review hastily the development and status of medical science and practice in 1832. The pages of the history of human progress show many variations and changes in public opinion. Ideas differing widely, often exactly opposite, have supplanted those that had been held as correct. There are few fields of human knowledge that exhibit more numerous or more marked illustrations of this than the history of the development of medicine. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, Cullen, a prominent physician and teacher, whose opinions exerted a great influence and were widely received, held that irritability, as it had been called by Haller, or incitability as he chose to term it, was aroused and called into action by an extremely subtle influence generated by the brain and distributed by the nerves; that the excess or the deficiency of this constituted the essential factor of disease. When in excess, it produced fever, when acting locally, inflammation, when greatly diminished, depression. His theory of treatment sought to moderate the violence of the reaction; remove the cause and prevent the subsequent depression. Brown, who was his pupil, announced the doctrine that incitability was the essential of what was termed vital action, and that a lack or perversion of this produced the condition we call disease. He recognized two conditions, one, where there was an excess of incitability, he called *sthenic*, which he believed to exist in only a small number of cases, the other, characterized by a want of it, he termed *asthenic*; terms still retained in medical

literature: regarding nearly all diseases as of the latter type his principal remedies were diffusible stimulants. This doctrine, having the merit of simplicity, being presented in a captivating and energetic manner and the remedies pandering to the appetite and inclinations of mankind the practice spread rapidly. It was used indiscriminately and produced bad results, not only among the sick, but the abuse being greatly increased in the community, its injurious effects contributed to bring it speedily into disrepute. The next phase of medical thought to become prominent was the phlogistic theory of disease. That claimed that all diseases characterized by heat, redness and pain were inflammatory and were caused by too much arterial pressure with an increased flow of blood and an increase of fibrin. The means relied on to combat this condition were termed antiphlogistic; those most frequently resorted to were venesection, active cathartics and emetics. Among the cathartics in common use was a full dose of calomel combined with other cathartics. If the bleeding and cathartics failed to arrest the disease a course of mercurials in small doses was resorted to with the view of producing salivation, that being regarded as an indication that the fibrin of the blood was diminished and the fever believed to be dependent on it would yield. While this practice, guided by good judgment and skill obtained by extended experience, might do less harm than the practice it had superseded, yet like that, when followed as a routine and used indiscriminately, it was dangerous and caused serious results. The routine use of this antiphlogistic treatment and the results of the abuse of mercurials, together with the influence exerted by the development and teaching of the French school of pathological anatomy, led by Chomel and Louis; the revival of *Vis Vitæ* and *Vis Medicatrix Naturæ* by Forbes, Bigelow and others: these influences co-operated in directing attention to, and sustaining the idea that acute diseases were self limited, having definite periods of development, progress and decline, consequently the idea of arresting the progress by depletion and evacuants

was made to give place to a less active and more expectant form of treatment. With some, these ideas went to the extent of developing a skepticism in the efficacy of all medicine, or preparing them for the reception of the doctrine of the increased potency of dilutions. The pioneer practitioners of this doctrine found their way west of the Alleghanies about 1840. For a time, however, they were outstripped by those who were not only bitter in their denunciation of depletion and evacuants, but who sought to revive in a modified form the practice of stimulation as taught by Brown. Their therapeutic weapons were steam, capsicum, No. Six, and lobelia. They were known as Thompsonians, or "Herb Doctors."

This brief and imperfect sketch gives an outline of the basis of medical practice at the time of the settlement of the State. If we desire to compare the practice and results of that period with those of the present, we should take into consideration the teaching which the physicians of that day had received, the means and appliances at their disposal as compared with the present. They had read the standard works and attended lectures upon anatomy, physiology, surgery, chemistry, materia medica, obstetrics and the practice of medicine. This constituted their equipment, except a few fortunate ones who had seen an occasional case at the bed-side or assisted their preceptor in some operation. Since that period the advances in chemistry, the application of the microscope and other instruments to the investigation of medical topics, the opening of the hospitals and dispensaries for direct study at the bed-side, have added new fields and made accessible to all facilities for their thorough investigation and precision that were not dreamed of by the physicians of those days. The first contributions of analytical chemistry to materia medica had been made but a comparatively short time before, the discovery of morphia was definitely given to the profession in 1817; the next year that of strychnia, and two years later, 1820, that of quinaë; the last has proved the most effective remedy against malaria in all its forms. When we consider

the cost of the imported articles, the limited number of laboratories in this country, and the slow transportation, it is probable their use had not become general in 1832. The extracts and more crude forms of the remedies from which they were obtained, were still in use to some extent. Previous to this date, the standard works on materia medica and therapeutics were either by European authors or American editions of them, with brief notes. There had been valuable articles on pharmacy and materia medica published, but the first attempt to supply a comprehensive work adapted to this country, including an account of indigenous medicinal plants, their uses and value as found by experience, was made by the publication of the United States Dispensatory in 1833. The physicians from the eastern and middle States encountered a serious difficulty in their lack of practical experience with diseases of a malarial origin. In the summer of 1832 these difficulties were over-shadowed by the appearance of epidemic cholera among those who were congregated at different points, having been driven from their claims. While not strictly germane to our subject, in view of the interest awakened by its recent ravages in Europe and by the possibility, if not the probability, of its reaching this country again, as well as being a valuable contribution to history, a brief statement in relation to the origin of cholera along the Mississippi River will interest all, especially the student and sanitarian. During the summer of 1831 General Scott, with one thousand men was ordered from New York to Wisconsin Territory to aid in keeping in subjection the Indian tribes. This force moved westward *via* the Erie Canal to Buffalo, where they embarked on transports for Chicago. They took on board, at his request, a man who was lying on the wharf sick, not knowing the nature of his malady. While en route cholera broke out among the closely packed troops, and raged with great virulence, many dying with it. The force wintered near Chicago, moving in the spring to the present site of Dixon on Rock River. From there the baggage was sent down in boats in charge of Atkinson's rangers

and landed at Big Island, near the present village of Milan, where it was left exposed, as far as it could be safely, for purification. The rangers came around up the river going into camp on the Iowa side near a large spring. Soon after, one of them was taken sick, no one knowing what ailed him; he was removed to the hospital on the island. The hospital was near the bakery. No one being familiar with the disease or suspecting its nature, no extra precautions were taken and the contagion soon spread among the bakers and to the garrison. Nothing that was done could stay the scourge, and out of a garrison of four hundred one fourth were soon dead. The fort was abandoned; the garrison was divided; two detachments going into camp separately on the Iowa side, the third on the Illinois side opposite the fort. This stopped the spread of the disease; no other cases appearing. There were cases at Keokuk, Burlington, Dubuque, Galena and other points along the river but nothing like an epidemic.

At the date of settlement, the country in some respects presented a marked contrast to the present. The decaying vegetation of years had enriched the soil to such an extent that the annual growth shaded the surface, impeding the drainage and interfering with evaporation. In the valleys bordering the Mississippi and Missouri, the presence of malaria was most marked and its effects more frequently fatal; cases of pernicious or congestive chills were not very common but occasionally occurred. The milder forms prevailed along all the water courses and in the valleys directly connected with them. The seasons that were unusually hot and dry, caused it to prevail over the entire country, prostrating every one, until there were not well ones enough to care for the sick. The physicians were greatly over-worked and worn out, getting part of their sleep in the saddle or carriage; yet the percentage of mortality was not increased but rather diminished in consequence of the greater number of sick. This was the case in the summer of 1846, the second summer of my residence in the West. Much land that is now highly prized for agricultural purposes was

originally regarded as of doubtful value for farming and very undesirable for health. Those who settled near streams or on the river bottoms universally suffered with diseases of malarial origin and the same influence was found modifying nearly all other diseases. Another manifestation of this influence emanating from a different source, often proved a surprise. The settler on the high prairie who had lived one or two years with his family in the enjoyment of excellent health would in August and September suffer from malarial fevers quite as severely as his neighbors on the river bottoms. The cause could be readily found in the breaking of large bodies of prairie in the vicinity, the decay of the sward producing the malaria. The diseases of winter were more severe and difficult to treat, and caused greater fatality. In the treatment of autumnal or malarial fevers, there was usually but little difficulty. The general plan was to give a brisk cathartic of some pills or a cathartic dose of calomel and jalap. With the action of this the fever would yield, when quina, or such preparations of bark as were at hand were given. Cases were occasionally met where the fever was high, accompanied by delirium. In these cases the older practitioners would precede the cathartic by a free bleeding. Old physicians have told me they obtained more prompt remission, but admitted the convalescence was more tedious. They had very few, if any cases, that correspond to our typhoid or enteric fever. They occasionally met cases of continued malarial fever that taxed their skill and patience. The pneumonia, pleurisy, acute rheumatism and other phlegmasia of winter gave the most trouble and the worst results. In the earlier years of the period, we are considering, and especially by the older practitioners, bleeding would be resorted to. If pain continued, or the respiration was impeded, this was followed by a blister. To promote expectoration and control a dry, distressing cough, tartrate of antimony and morphia were favorite remedies to be followed by senega or squills later on. In inflammatory or acute rheumatism the bleeding would be followed by active cathartics and these by

preparations of colchicum and quina. Towards the latter part of this period the practice of bleeding gradually fell into disuse. Dr. Barrows, in giving some incidents of "early days," narrated his experience in treating Mr. Le Claire on this plan. If equally favorable and financial results could be assured in every case I think it would become very popular with the profession, if not with the community. A brief extract from a letter written by Dr. John F. Henry to a professional friend in Kentucky, gives us his impressions of the diseases of the country and their treatment. "The summer fevers are easily managed, requiring but little of Cooke's pills or any similar compound and yielding readily to quinine. There is a marked tendency to cholera, but as controllable in its incipient stages as fever and ague. The winter diseases are more disastrous, and this I must think is from the prevailing neglect of the lancet. In the whole course of my practice, I look back on nothing with a higher appreciation of its value in the treatment of pneumonia, pleurisy, and the phlegmasia than the lancet; and yet, such is the dominion of fashion that I have almost ceased to use it in any case."

Having thus taken a hasty review of the pioneers in most of the prominent points up to 1847, noted briefly some of the surroundings that affected their labors, and the means at their command, we will next consider the situation and progress from this time to 1861. The results as shown from 1861 to 1865 can be regarded as the fruitage or harvest of the preceding periods. As the field we are to consider became greatly enlarged by the extension of the settlements, it would not be profitable or practicable to go into detail. There was no marked change in the progress for two years. When the discovery of gold in California induced that remarkable emigration that scattered the seeds of settlements across the continent, Iowa contributed her full quota, of which more than the average per cent came from the medical profession. The restless spirits who were ever longing for a change, those who had not met the success they hoped for, and many who were doing

fairly well, but were sure they saw a more direct road to success and a competency, joined the throng. Of the latter class a large number returned, of the first, but very few; but as they included many of the least desirable, the risk to the community in seeing their places filled was lessened. The immigration to this State was checked by that to California. When the return flow from the latter became apparent in 1852 the increase to Iowa from the East had commenced. The completion of the railroad in 1854 gave better facilities for travel, and the growth was rapid up to the time of the financial difficulties of 1857. The class of immigrants who came during this period were different from those who had preceded them. A larger proportion were possessed of some wealth and there were more who had enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education. With them came many physicians with practical experience seeking wider or less crowded fields. Others came fresh from the schools, well up to date in the advanced teaching and literature of the profession. These additions usually received a cordial welcome from the pioneers who recognized the value of their assistance in keeping pace with the progress of medicine and its auxiliaries since they had left the schools. With the rapid increase of population from 1852 to 1858 came a wide extension of the settlements; a receding of the frontier and the development of important points in the interior and western part of the State. In many of these physicians located who joined earnestly with the pioneers and those who had more recently located in the eastern section in every movement to organize the profession, establish a high standard, and direct its influence in aiding the establishment of institutions for the care of the afflicted and unfortunate.

The first effort looking to the organization of the profession of the State was a call in the spring of 1850 for a convention at Burlington, June 19th. The result of that meeting was the organization of the Iowa State Medical Society. The work was done chiefly by those located in the south half of the State. Judged by the results, the action was timely and well sus-

tained. It was reorganized in 1872 to adapt it more fully to the changed condition of the profession. During the forty-three years of its existence, the only failures to hold the annual meeting were in 1862 and 1863, when more than two hundred and fifty of the active members of the profession were in the military service. The organization of the State Society was followed by the organization of county societies of which a number are still maintained. Among them is Keokuk, formed September 26th, 1850; Louisa county, April 24th, 1852; Dubuque county, November 4th, 1852; Scott and Delaware counties in 1856; Washington and Clinton in 1857; Polk in 1858, and the North Iowa in 1859. These societies by their meetings exerted a valuable influence by the dissemination of knowledge among the members, and by extending personal acquaintance, which was of great service in the performance of the duties that were subsequently required of the profession. I had contemplated noting the names of some who had located in the State during this decade and who took an active part in advancing the interests of the profession and maintaining its standing in the stirring events that were to follow, but the list would be too large and would require great care to avoid doing injustice by an inadvertent omission of the names of zealous and worthy men.

The first Medical College in Iowa was a reorganization from a neighboring State. In 1842 Dr. Daniel Brainerd and his associates organized Rush Medical College in Chicago. Not to be outdone by a rival town, in 1844 Drs. George W. Richards, Daniel Meeker and others organized the Indiana Medical College at Laporte; in 1847 it was removed to St. Charles, Illinois, and the next year to Rock Island. The session of 1849 and 1850 was held at Davenport, when it was known as the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Upper Mississippi. There were five graduates: Dr. George Warne, of Independence, Dr. A. A. Noyes, now of Minneapolis, and Dr. John F. Dillon, who has since become an eminent jurist, being among them. During the summer of 1850

it was removed to Keokuk and again reorganized. Drs D. L. McGuggin, J. C. Hughes and John F. Sandford, who had recently located there, being members of the faculty. It has survived its projectors and during the forty-three years of its existence has made many friends and accomplished much good, although it may have failed to attain to the highest degree of excellence or to escape criticism.

During the quarter of a century that had elapsed since the date of settlement, very important changes had occurred in pathological doctrines held, and in the therapeutic agents relied on to combat diseased action. It had witnessed the culmination and decline of what was known as antiphlogistic medication. That was giving place to a plan of treatment, which, without being entirely expectant, recognized the definite periods and tendency to self limitation of acute diseases, the power of nature towards recovery, the importance of aiding her by good nursing; while a better knowledge of morbid processes, the discovery and application of new remedies, rendered it practicable to secure desired results with less depression and sacrifice of vitality, insuring a more speedy recovery and restoration to health. It is not claiming too much to say that the profession of Iowa were intelligent practitioners of what was known as the tonic or supporting plan of treatment. The teaching they had received, their practical experience, and the character of the diseases with which they were most familiar, as well as that reliance on their own limited resources; the result of the surroundings amidst which they had labored; all these tended to fit them in a special degree to take the part to be assigned to them in the stirring events of the near future.

Some notice of the part taken by the members of the medical profession of our State in the four years of the sanguinary struggle for the life of the nation, is due to them and to history, but I hesitate to attempt it, fully realizing my inability to do justice without being liable to the charge of exaggeration, or, worse still, vain glorious boasting, as I was one of those to whom your venerable and honored fellow citizen, our noble


war Governor (Kirkwood). entrusted the care of the health and casualties of a regiment. In the discharge of this trust for twenty months in the camp and field, intimately associated with a cherished professional friend from this city, Dr. F. Lloyd, it was my fortune to meet with a goodly number of Iowa's Corps of Surgeons; to meet the same difficulties they encountered, to witness the gentleness and the faithfulness with which they performed their duties, and their patient heroism in overcoming every obstacle in securing the best possible care of those in their charge. It is very difficult for the physician of to-day to realize the situation of the medical officer of the summer of 1861. Fresh from his well-stocked office, he was soon on the march with his command, with a daily increasing number reporting with diarrhœa trouble and his available remedies limited to opium, ipecac, Dover's powder, and Epsom salts. In November and December his quarters and improvised hospital were filled with patients, sick with measles, pneumonia, and bronchitis; his remedies consisting of tartrate of antimony, ipecac, opium and Dover's powder. As the war progressed, the soldiers became inured to camp life, the surgeons more familiar with their duties and the means at their command, more satisfactory results were secured. To aid in the selection of competent medical officers, Governor Kirkwood appointed a Board of Medical Examiners, consisting of Dr. J. C. Hughes, of Keokuk, Dr. Wm. P. Davis, of Des Moines, and Dr. C. W. Belden, of Dubuque. Dr. Hughes was subsequently appointed Surgeon General. All applicants for positions on the Surgical Staff were required to appear before this board for examination and appointments were, to a great extent, based upon their reports. The gathering of large bodies of men changed suddenly from home to camp life, resulted in a great amount of sickness, which rendered necessary the organization of Post and General Hospitals. St. Louis, the headquarters of the Western Department was soon filled to overflowing. Dr. Hughes and others appreciating the situation and the advan-

tage of having the sick and wounded as near home as possible, by an application to the authorities, secured the location of a general hospital at Keokuk, which became a haven of hope and rest to many a sick Iowa soldier. There was a Post Hospital at Davenport where many were cared for temporarily. The Medical Staff of these hospitals were mostly taken from the profession of the State, while later on a large number rendered valuable service in numerous other hospitals of the Western Department. The appreciation of the ability of the members of the Surgical Staff is fully attested by the members who were placed in positions of responsibility and honor; not only on detached service but by promotion. A number, after a rigid examination, were appointed Surgeons in the Volunteer Corps, placing them on an equal footing with Surgeons of the Regular Army who had spent their lives in the military service.

This opened to them positions requiring a high standard of professional and executive ability, being placed in charge of hospital transports, general hospitals and as staff officers with Division and Army Corps Commanders. In all these positions they acquitted themselves with credit. The Reports of the Adjutant General of Iowa show the names of over two hundred and fifty medical officers on the Official Roster; the addition of fifty for those in the hospital service, on contracts and otherwise, would be a conservative estimate showing a representation of the profession of one, for about every two hundred and thirty volunteers, indicating that the ratio they bear to the population was fully maintained in the day of trial. To state that Iowa surgeons performed their duties in a manner highly creditable to themselves and with honor to the State, is but repeating what is well known to all who were in a position to know the facts. The officers of the regular army were credited with looking down on all volunteers. In 1863, at Memphis, surgeon Wright, of the U. S. Army, said to me, "The medical officers of Iowa that I have met compare favorably with those of any Western State, yes.

average better than several States I could name." The confidence reposed in them is illustrated by the positions to which they were assigned, which might be aptly described by a paraphrase of a short article in relation to Iowa troops, written near the close of the war by the correspondent of a prominent paper. He said: "If there is an important move to be made that must be promptly executed; a point that must be held at all hazards, or one that must be carried as the key to a perilous assault, an Iowa regiment, or the wasted remnant of one, is assigned that duty." So was it with the surgeons; if there was a place where disaster had caused an accumulation of sick and disabled, if the lack of foresight or energy on the part of others had failed to arrest the spread of disease, or provide for the afflicted, if the success of our troops had increased our sick, by the capture of hospitals, whose inmates must be cared for, it was to Iowa's medical officers they turned with confidence for assistance and support. As the fair fields, the thriving towns with their beautiful churches, noble schools, libraries, benevolent institutions and happy homes, must be regarded as the fruits of the wisdom and integrity of the labors of the pioneers, in laying the foundations and outlining the superstructure of our noble State; so are we justified in claiming as the fruit of such home influence and surroundings, that noble patriotism and bravery displayed in the struggle for the life of the nation. The annals of a hundred bloody fields from Wilson's Creek to Allatoona, chronicle the heroic deeds of Iowa soldiers; so do the records of positions requiring professional skill, executive ability, good judgment and integrity, show a goodly list of names found on the Roster of "Iowa's Surgical Staff," while the honored names of Reeder, Witter, McGuggin, Fisk and others belong among Iowa's martyred heroes.

TEACHERS IN IOWA BEFORE 1858.¹

E are invited to spend an hour with those who taught on what is now Iowa soil at some time between the years 1830 and 1858. It may be convenient for us to divide those twenty-eight years into four distinct periods: viz:

- I. The Aboriginal Period, October, 1830 to June 1st, 1833.
- II. The Transitional Period, 1833 to July 4th, 1838.
- III. The Territorial Period, 1838 to December 28th, 1846.
- IV. State Progress toward Free Schools, 1846 to 1858.

During our first period no considerable portion of Iowa was open to white occupancy except the southern part of what is, at present, the county of Lee. The half-breeds of the Sac and Fox Indian tribes had received permission in 1824 from the United States to occupy that land but not to convey it.

At the beginning of the second period, Black Hawk had surrendered to the United States the eastern border of Iowa to the distance of from forty to fifty miles from the Mississippi River, and it had been open to white settlers. A few hundred whites had already located themselves here, largely in the Half-Breed Tract, and some had taken possession of forbidden ground farther north, and even after having been repeatedly expelled from it by United States troops.

¹ By Professor Leonard F. Parker, who has served the cause of popular education faithfully for more than a quarter of a century. As teacher, as member of the Legislature, as Trustee of the State University, as Professor of History in the University and in Iowa College, as author of "Education in Iowa" he has earned a reputation second to none in the State.

That period may be further subdivided into,—

1. A year of “political orphanage,” the last of fourteen years during which Iowa was incorporated with no distinct government,

2. Two years of union with Michigan Territory, and

3. Two years of connection with Wisconsin Territory.

The white influx during those five years was so rapid, notwithstanding all governmental disadvantages, that, at their close, a score of hamlets and towns were throbbing with civilized life. In 1838 the white population had risen to 23,859.

The inpour continued increasingly during the remaining two periods, raising the entire number of whites to 102,000 in 1846, when Iowa became a State, and to 600,000 in 1858, when the Iowa school law assumed substantially its present form and completeness. The vast majority of these new comers pushed forward to found new towns along the rivers, and to open new farms on the borders of inland groves and on the prairies of the interior. Thus during all the twenty-eight years which we are reviewing, Iowa will be chiefly in the midst of extreme pioneer conditions. Only the towns, and that too the older ones, will be noticeably growing out of the inspirations and out of the limitations of earliest frontier environments.

Standing as those settlers did, especially before Iowa became a State, in the westernmost twilight of civilization, on the very verge of barbarism, close to the wild deer and not far from the buffalo, what room was there for teachers? In similar circumstances John Smith compelled Virginia gentlemen and jewelers to wield the ax and the mattock until houses were built and until corn was growing. So those Iowa frontiersmen then must all build or freeze, must dig or starve. They were in the worst place in the world for idlers, but best for workers. But their work must contribute, chiefly, to physical life. An Indian boy fresh from Carlisle would be very lonely among the wild Sioux, if his head were full of the white man's “ologies” while his hand could not master a

pony nor speed an arrow. But scarcely more lonely would he be than that young man on the sunset side of the Mississippi in the thirties or the forties who was at home among the stars but a good-for-nothing in building a house or raising a crop.

The first school known to students of Iowa antiquities was taught during our "aboriginal" period in 1830, at what is now "Nashville" earlier Galland, in Lee County, what was then named by the Indians Ah-wi-pe-tuck, or, "The Beginning of the Rapids." Berryman Jennings was the first teacher. Even that young Kentuckian of twenty-three years of age had no idea of devoting his life to teaching when deer and perhaps Indians were tempting his rifle, and when the best he could do as a pedagogue was to gather eight to ten children from six to sixteen years old, into the kitchen of a small log house for instruction during a few hours of each day for three months in a year. Such teaching could be nothing less than an episode in the midst of more regular business. While making himself memorable by that first school in Iowa, he boarded with Dr. Isaac Galland (his employer) used his medical books and received his professional guidance. He soon became a physician, engaged in mercantile pursuits, crossed the plains in 1874, had the "gold fever" when it was epidemic on the Pacific coast, became a law maker in Oregon, turned his hand to more than one enterprise in the valley of the Columbia, and now sleeps on the banks of the Willamette. One well acquainted with many of those who taught in early years deems him the teacher second only to Thomas H. Benton, Jr.

But that Jennings' school at Ah-wi-pe-tuck sixty-four years ago! What a small affair it was! That log hut, those kitchen accommodations, that bench full of children! What did the teacher know of methods? What did he know of the "osophies?"

We might linger long thus in amazement and among minifying interrogations. It would be easy to conclude that such schools and such teaching must be of little account in the his-

tory of the State, or of a hamlet, or even of an individual. It is wiser perhaps to wait a little. Speculations after the facts and based upon them will seem most scientific, that is, most sensible.

The second school in Iowa was also taught in Lee County, at Keokuk, as now named (at Puck-a-she-tuck the Indian term for, "At the foot of the Rapids"), by I. K. Robinson. It was opened December 1st, 1830.

Some two years later Jesse Creighton was induced to undertake teaching in Keokuk, inasmuch as his regular business of shoe-making was unprofitable there. The people of that town then, unlike those of to-day, were in the habit of going barefooted in summer time and of wearing moccasins in winter.

II. TRANSITION. 1833-38.

The period of transition from 1833 to 1838, that is, from the opening of the Black Hawk Purchase to the organization of Iowa Territory, was most noteworthy for changes made along the eastern border of south-eastern Iowa. It has been said that "more than two-thirds of the population resided south of the Iowa River" in that corner of our present State, as late as 1844.

Fort Madison received an addition of white immigrants in 1833, although the school taught that year by one of the soldiers was chiefly for the children of the soldiers stationed at that point. It was near there in 1834 that the first lady teacher in Iowa opened her school after the men had engrossed the business for some four years. But she was the vidette and herald of this later day when the men have been so completely elbowed out of their old places, and so completely cast down from their solitary eminence that they constitute only one-fifth of the whole number of teachers. Schools have been improving, we are told. The change in this direction is certainly no evidence of decline.

In 1834 Mrs. Rebecca Palmer was leader of this great host of latter day guides. Miss Eliza Houston followed her as the

first teacher in Denmark in 1837, one year after the Yankees began to settle in that township, and two years after the first white man, a North Carolinian, built a shelter there for himself.

About sixteen miles north of Fort Madison were the Flint Hills (or Shok-ko-kon as named by the Indians) which gave their name to that part of the river-border the upper end of which was named Burlington in 1834.

It was in February, 1833, that a few ambitious whites had crossed over the river and taken possession of lands at and near where Burlington now stands. They were a few months too early; they had no treaty right to be there before the next June. The United States troops at Rock Island were ordered to dislodge them. They did it very effectively. They burned down the settlers' cabins, destroyed their fences, ruined their crops. The leader of that obedient troop was one Jefferson Davis, the same "Jeff Davis" with whom the Iowa people became still more sadly familiar in 1861-1865. Much as they regretted their losses in 1833, the settlers at Flint Hills could but admit that, on that occasion, he had done his simple duty as a soldier and as a man.

After the region was legally opened to settlers by the whites there was a large immigration at Flint Hills and elsewhere along the Mississippi. Among the earliest of the new-comers was William R. Ross in September of that year. He had been a merchant at Quincy, Illinois. On this side of the river he became merchant, druggist, surveyor, doctor, Indian trader and Methodist class leader, a kind of universal man of affairs; indeed he erected a log building early, to serve as a school house and "for preaching purposes." He enthroned Zadok C. Inghram in it in the spring of 1834, and boarded him free. The next year this teacher served the public as deputy sheriff. The only other names of Burlington teachers during the period of "transition" which we can now recover from an oblivion all too early are those of Mrs. Shelton and Mrs. Mayfield. The author of the History of Des Moines County (published in 1879

by the Western Historical Company) says: "During the succeeding years (after Mr. Inghram) until the erection of the old Zion church, the schools were 'kept' in various places and taught by various persons." He seems to mean that there were no genuine school "teachers" during that period.

It was a little before the organization of Iowa Territory that Miss M. A. Blair taught the first school at Yellow Springs, some dozen miles from Burlington, and in her father's house. We meet her again later.

If the commonly received authorities are correct, Rev. George Bumgardner taught the first school in Muscatine County in the spring of 1837, and in that year E. H. Bassett taught at Buffalo, in Scott County, and Wm. Cannon at Le Claire. It was in 1837, also, that John P. Grantham taught in Mt. Pleasant, and was chosen many times afterwards to serve the county in local offices and to hold positions of importance in Washington.

The first school in Dubuque was taught by George Cubbage, in the winter of 1833-34. Afterwards as United States Commissioner he aided in locating several towns on the Mississippi. The second school in Dubuque was taught by Barrett Witmore, "Wittemore," "Whitmore," or "Whitemore," for all these spellings have slipped into type. This White-more (as he seems to have been) rendered important service to education in his vicinity during many a year, and appeared in the Convention of County Superintendents, at Iowa City, in 1858, as the first Superintendent of Jones County.

The first school in Dubuque for young ladies was opened in 1836, by Mrs. Dexter, or by Mrs. Louisa King. Each of these ladies organized such a school at about the same time. Classical instruction was begun in that place by Alonzo P. Phelps, in 1838.

The legislation of Michigan and Wisconsin Territories, which applied to the Iowa side of the Mississippi between 1830 and 1838, is noteworthy as indicative of what was in the air, though not at all for what materialized into institutions in their region.

Michigan provided for a Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1835, but no part of his startling salary of twenty-five dollars a year was earned in Iowa. No schools on this side of the Mississippi were organized under that law, none were appreciably affected by it. It neither helped nor harmed the private schools, which depended wholly on personal enterprise.

Among the latest educational acts of the Wisconsin Legislature in behalf of Iowa, was the one completed in January, 1838, when nine seminaries were incorporated, one in what is now Dubuque County, one in Scott, one in Henry, one in Van Buren, two in Des Moines, and three in Lee. They were to be opened to all who could pay for their instruction in science and literature. Some of them were to be distinctively manual labor schools. They were practically still born, studentless and moneyless. Their life was in the hopes of their friends and on the records of the Legislatures.

III. THE TERRITORIAL ERA. JULY 4TH, 1838, TO DECEMBER 6TH, 1846.

We now enter an era of definitely enlarging educational progress.

On November 12th, 1838, Governor Lucas addressed the Legislature as follows: "There is no subject to which I wish to call your attention more especially than the subject of establishing at the commencement of our political existence a well digested system of schools."

Ten days later Dr. Gideon S. Bailey, of Van Buren County, as Chairman of the Committee on Common Schools, reported an act providing for their establishment. To that great step forward the Governor gave his approval January 1st, 1839. That law was unique in the legislation of the modern world. It is a pleasure just here to introduce the words of one who, though not a professional teacher, was long a leader in local and state efforts to promote popular education and all public prosperity, a man whose memory the State Historical Society will not permit to perish. We will quote the words of Christian W.

Slagle. In an address before the old settlers of Polk County, he said:

"I open the first statute of our Territorial Legislature, and as a New Year's gift to the people I find approved January 1st, 1839, 'An Act Providing for the Establishment of Public Schools.' It was crude to be sure, but it was open and free for every class of white citizens between the ages of four and twenty-one years; and persons over twenty-one could be admitted to the schools on special terms. In section 12 of the Act it is provided that the authorities should lay a tax for the support of its schools, to be paid in cash or good merchantable produce at cash price, on the inhabitants of the several districts, not exceeding one-half per centum, nor amounting to more than ten dollars on any one person. I doubt if the heroism of this good-merchantable-goods-at-cash-price clause, has been equalled by any of the legislation that has occurred in behalf of our schools from that day down to this year of grace, 1881. And you residents of the marble fronts of the present day cannot appreciate the grim sacrifice of that time which made such a clause a necessity."

These are the just words of Christian Slagle. Imagination even when taxed to the utmost, cannot enable us to realize such heroism, the heroism of Iowa when she first stood squarely on her own feet. She would have schools even if compelled to pay for them in truck and barter. Every citizen of our State should crimson with shame if the successor of that Iowa of 1839 should dare to be second in general education.

There is another peculiarity in that law which some will remember with less pleasure. Schools were to be provided for "every class of *white* citizens" only. Did the legislators of that day imagine that negroes were so very talented naturally, that they needed no education, or so dull that they could learn nothing, or so excitable that a knowledge of the multiplication table would make them uncontrollable?

A year later an additional law was enacted "establishing"

public schools. That law was not changed materially during the territorial period.

The first law providing for a Superintendent of Public Instruction was enacted January 13th, 1841, but was repealed thirteen months later, February 17th, 1842. Theodore Sutton Parvin was then the Governor's Private Secretary, and had been closely connected with Samuel Lewis, who was most eminent among the State Superintendents of Ohio. The Governor had been materially assisted by his secretary's knowledge of education, and it was natural that Mr. Parvin should be invited to accept the Superintendency. It scarcely seems natural that he should decline to accept the honor, for he had held nearly every other school office, and had done and has kept on doing about every thing else that a wise friend of education could do in Iowa. Nevertheless he did decline. It was then tendered to Dr. Wm. Reynolds, and accepted by him. The Doctor was a native of England, had been educated in America, and had given enough illustrated lectures at Burlington to be called by those who would make sport of him, "A pedagogue with a magic lantern."

At the end of his first (and only) official year, he reported that a flood of immigration was bringing "with it the right spirit;" and that there were very few neighborhoods where a dozen children could be collected which did not sustain the best school within their means. Nevertheless only three counties had reported to him, namely, Clayton, Lee, and Des Moines. Clayton had maintained two schools, but had given no particulars as to either. Lee had made only a partial and indefinite report of herself, and Des Moines County was pleased to say that she had had several good schools and that they were liberally supported. Louisa County seems to have had several "very good" schools at the time of his report, and the cities of Dubuque, Mt. Pleasant and Iowa City were "very creditably supplied." "In the latter there are four schools," he, said, "one just commencing under my own superintendence is designed to be a permanent institution, and to afford to

youth of both sexes every facility of acquiring all the branches of an academic education."

He also reported that some counties had not been divided into townships or school-districts, and of course their school officers had not been elected, and that the law seemed to many hard to understand. He recommended that provision should be made for a permanent school fund; and that the organization of schools should be hastened. He also suggested the propriety of making education compulsory.

Soon after this report of the Superintendent was made, the Committee on Schools in the House of Representatives reported to that body that, while some few districts had been organized in Lee, Henry, Van Buren and Des Moines counties, and while schools might attain some degree of success in populous localities, no permanent aid should be given them by the State, and that no change should be made in the school law except to abolish the office of State Superintendent. That report pleased the Legislature; Superintendent Reynolds stepped down and out.

The school in Iowa City which Superintendent Reynolds designed to make "permanent" was not long maintained. Like other strong men in that territorial period he found a school of high grade too great a burden for one pair of shoulders even though they might be moderately Atlantean. He then practiced medicine in Iowa City, taught three years in Marion, became superintendent of schools in Iowa City, then at Terre Haute, Indiana, resumed teaching and medical practice in Iowa City, and died there in 1863, of disease contracted while a surgeon in the army during the Civil War.

Superintendent Reynolds alluded to schools other than his own in Iowa City. Some were also earlier than his. Although the first sale of lots here was made August 16th, 1839, at the end of that year there were twenty white families in the place. Enough more came the next year to make it seem wise to Jesse Berry to open a school on College Street, at five cents a day for each pupil, and to Mr. Choate to commence another

elsewhere, and to establish a Sunday school. Mr. Berry became a factor in the continued progress of the city, married one of his pupils, held office in the county, and was killed in a cyclone in 1859. The year following, in 1841, we have already noticed that there were four schools here, three in addition to Superintendent Reynolds' school of larger promise. That was an educational avalanche indeed into an aboriginal forest, wholly unsurpassed, probably unequalled in the northwest. A dash for settlement, a rush for education! The corner stone of the Territorial Capitol (the present central building of the State University) was laid July 4th, 1840, and the Territorial Legislature met here for the first time December 6th, 1841, though not in that new building.

The educational rush was not over then.

In 1842 the mechanics of Iowa City erected the Mechanics' Academy. Hugh and William Thompson opened a school there, William as the scholar and Hugh as the man of affairs. Their success was unsatisfactory. William returned to Indiana; Hugh retired to his farm and afterwards to a fortune in California.

In 1845 Reverends W. D. and W. K. Talbot opened the Iowa City University. A board of thirty trustees residing in various parts of the State, indicated that its patronage was intended to be State wide, and the classical emphasis of its curriculum pointed to an object above "bread and butter." Some second hand books glided into its library; its funds were easily counted; corn absorbed more thought among the young men than Grecian culture. Its lonely teachers withdrew; its library is now among the curiosities of the State Historical Society; the University was no more.

The Muscatine teacher in the territorial era whose deeds have been most conspicuous in State history, was John Abbot Parvin. Born in New Jersey, he came to Iowa in 1839, when thirty-two years old, and taught two terms, became a merchant, was elected Clerk of the District Court, Mayor of Muscatine, a Representative in the third General Assembly of the

State, the temporary chairman of the Constitutional Convention of 1857, and a State Senator in the sixties. He has been called the "father of the Reform School" at Eldora, and with great propriety, because of his potential agency in establishing it, and of his eighteen years' presidency of its Board of Trustees. It was proper that an old-time teacher should lead in the Legislature in founding that institution, for it was long advocated by the State Teachers' Association under the stimulus of such men as C. C. Nestlerode, of Tipton, in the earlier days, and of W. A. Bemis, of Davenport, and others, in later years.

The first school house in Jefferson County was built in 1838, in Round Prairie township, and first occupied by Thomas Johnson; the first in what is now Fairfield was put up in 1839, when Miss Clarissa Sawyer taught there.

In Burlington, during the five years after Zadok C. Inghram taught his term of school, Mrs. Shelton, Mrs. Mayfield and others gathered pupils in various places. In 1839 old Zion Church, famous as the first building occupied by the first Territorial Legislature, and memorable as the church which William R. Ross (Burlington's universal benefactor) saved from the sheriff's hands by sacrificing his own house, was made still further noteworthy as the building in which Rev. E. M. Scott resided, and where he administered to the children of the neighborhood "liberal doses of spelling book and of rod." Scott was himself noteworthy also for the humor which he displayed later, on changing his location and his profession. His head was at a long distance from his feet, and he commemorated the good use which he made of that interval on one occasion by hanging out his sign at Little Rock, Arkansas, as follows:

E. M. SCOTT,

ATTORNEY AT LAW,

The Man that Waded the Arkansas.

Classical instruction in Dubuque was made still more famous in 1839, by Thomas H Benton, Jr., who took charge of it at that time and enlisted Mrs. King in his service. That King family has seemed born to sovereignty in the school room. Mrs. King's daughter, Louisa (we may call her Louisa II), now Mrs. Thomas Hughes, of Iowa City, taught French and drawing in Mr. Benton's school when she was only fifteen, and in these later years her daughter also, Miss Louisa III, is teaching English in the High School of Des Moines. The graceful age of Louisa II, and the brilliant youth of Louisa III, are shedding added lustre on ancestral distinction.

Thomas H. Benton, Jr. (the "Jr." assumed to distinguish him from his illustrious uncle, "Old Bullion"), was twenty-three years old in 1839. Behind him was his Tennessee birth and his Missouri education; with him was his worthy ambition and his heroic self-reliance; before him were forty years of active life, eleven of them in what was practically the Superintendency of Public Instruction, four in the Union army, where he became a general, and the whole forty rich in increasing honor and enlarging service to the State and to the nation. The story of his life will ever remain a brilliant page of Iowa history. Jealousy will not mar it; envy will not detract from it.

Davenport reports her first school as taught in 1838.

In Dubuque Mrs. Dexter's school was continued until 1839, and in addition to reading, writing, spelling, etc., "the art of useful and ornamental needlework" was part of the curriculum even in that pioneer condition. A boarding school was opened there in 1838, by Mrs. Mary Ann O'Reilly. In 1840, Z. Burr organized a school for young ladies in the basement of the Presbyterian church, and George C. Collings taught in the basement of Bishop Loras' residence. The names of Mr. Hill and Hiram P. Leach as teachers appear on the records in 1841 and 1842. "In 1843," writes Thomas Hardie, Esq., the veteran Secretary of the Dubuque Board of Education, "the first public school building of brick was built

on the lot where the Prescott school now stands, into which Mr. Leach removed, his place in the Methodist church being appropriated by F. E. Bissell, who taught until the fall of 1846, when he gave way to Mr. Rice and wife."

"In the spring of 1844 Dubuque was made a school district, a tax was levied for school purposes." "The several private schools then in operation were considered public schools. Thus the public schools of Dubuque originated."

After 1846 Mr. Bissell devoted himself to the law, in which he became eminent, and he served as an Attorney General of the State. In 1856 he was made the sole Iowa member of the committee chosen by the Legislature to revise the Iowa school laws, the other members being, Amos Dean of New York, and Horace Mann of Massachusetts. Although he declined to render any important service on that committee his selection as a member of it was a tribute to recognized ability and interest in education.

It was on August 11th, 1842, that the Sacs and Foxes ceded the last of their lands in Iowa to the United States, retaining the privilege of occupying all of it until May 1st, 1843, and all west of a line running between Wayne and Appanoose counties, between Lucas and Monroe, and through Marion, Jasper, Marshall and Hardin counties, to their northern limit, until October 11th, 1845. Consequently such interior counties as Appanoose, Davis, Wapello, Mahaska, Poweshiek, Iowa, etc., were not open to whites until 1843, and it was over two years later before Polk County and others could be legally occupied by them.

When the hour arrived for the Indians to abandon their beautiful prairies it was tearful, for even an Indian can weep. It was an hour, too, for bonfires and for powder burning, for white men know a good thing when they get it, especially if it is so good as an Iowa farm. Over one thousand families rushed into the newly opened territory on the first day of the legal right to do so in 1843. Schools, such schools as could be opened, quickly appeared among the first cabins where Indian fires had scarcely grown cold.

In 1844 Miss Urania Adams taught the first school near Eddyville, and Samuel W. Caldwell the first in Oskaloosa, and both were only about a year after the first house was built in their region.

We have noticed already that Wisconsin Territory endowed Iowa with some half score of academies—on paper—as one of its last acts for this territory. January 19th, 1838, was that academy day in the Wisconsin Legislature. January 23d, 1839, was a new academy day in the Legislature of Iowa Territory. The people on this side of the Mississippi were still thinking of an education higher than that in common schools, and their territorial legislation on that new day, by one grand “Omnibus Act,” gave legislative being to eleven seminaries. One of these was in Louisa County (at Wapello), two in Lee (Fort Madison and West Point), two in Des Moines County (Burlington and Augusta), three in Van Buren (at Bentonsport, Farmington and Keosauqua), two in Scott (Davenport and Rockingham), and one at Dubuque. Some of these lived worthily for a while, but as is said to be the custom of the good, all of them that ever truly lived died young. Even West Point Academy, the one of lustiest life, went down in 1858 as the lustier public schools went up in its vicinity.

In 1844 Jefferson Academy, at Kossuth (a few miles north of Burlington), was chartered, and Rev. B. Roberts began the first principalship in it, in the fall term of the next year. Professor M. L. Comstock succeeded Mr. Roberts in 1846, and was assisted by Miss M. A. Blair, who had taught the first school in that township eight years before. The academy succeeded but moderately until 1852, when under the care of Rev. J. M. Phillips, and in 1853 when James W. McDill, aged nineteen, and Nathan R. Leonard, at the age of twenty-one, became teachers. Its restored prosperity continued until 1861, when its period of decline began. In the mean time a new building had been erected. It had also taken on the higher title of “Yellow Springs Collegiate Institute,” and Dr. E. J.

Gillette had been called to its presidency. N. R. Leonard had become its Professor of Mathematics, and E. Pierce, Professor of Languages.

Of all these teachers none are better known in Iowa and elsewhere than James W. McDill and Nathan R. Leonard, although Professor Leonard deems Professor Pierce (now living in Massachusetts) second to none with whom he has ever been associated.

James Wilson McDill, descended from Scotch-Irish ancestors, some of whom were conspicuous at the famous siege of Londonderry, taught one year, then after two years in Ohio, became a permanent citizen of this State. The young *Midland Monthly*, of Des Moines, has recently done Iowa good service by giving a sketch of his first wild ride over houseless prairies to Afton, of his life as a lawyer there, as the clerk of United States Senator Grimes' committee on the District of Columbia, as the first County Superintendent of Union County, as County and District Judge, and as United States Representative and Senator.

* Professor Leonard, after leaving Yellow Springs in 1857, spent a year at Harvard as resident graduate, taught for a time in Fairfield, Iowa, whence he was called to the Professorship of Mathematics in the re-organized State University in 1860. He occupied that chair until 1887 with a modest ability which was universally recognized. Of high character, balanced mind, with a gentle touch but a hand of iron when needed, as also because he was the senior professor, he was clearly the very man to serve as Dean of the Faculty, at all times, and as acting President when the highest place in the University became vacant, as it did more than once. By his wise and incisive editorials he is now making the *Gazette*, in Ft. Wayne, one of the most influential papers in northern Indiana.

Denmark Academy was chartered in 1843, five years after the Legislature of Wisconsin had voted "that there shall be established in the town of Denmark, Des Moines County, a

college for the purpose of educating youth; the style, name and title shall be "The Philandrian College of the town of Denmark." That college was founded on the hopes and on the pocket-books of the Leeper family, of Jacksonville, Illinois, but their hopes and their pocket-books soon collapsed together.

"Father Turner" and the Denmark Yankees determined that if they could not have a college they would have an academy. They willed effectively. The academy was opened in September, 1845. Albert Anderson Sturgis was the principal during its first two years. Later he graduated at Wabash College, and became a missionary in Micronesia during a third of a century, a worthy man, self-reliant, rich in character, useful everywhere. When his house was burned at Ponape, the missionary Board sent him six hundred dollars with which to rebuild it. He returned the money and built the house with his own hands. It was just like him.

Rev. George W. Drake, a man of all work and of over-work, after his wife had taught a summer term and he himself a winter term in Eddyville, succeeded Mr. Sturgis in Denmark. He lost no moment, read as he walked, worked as a stone-mason before and after school, and often seemed to sleep in the school room and in the church, unless something especially exhilarating occupied his thought, at least so the tradition reaches us. A single rifle shot among the Alps brings back a score of echoes. A single such apparent surrender to Somnus may have been the only fact for a score of fictions. Along the same line, however, it is also said that no one whose eyes had been open during a lecture could repeat so much of it as he, though he had nodded through it all. It was reported also that when he was a student a tough proposition in higher mathematics was going round his class, a nest of zeros for all till his name was called. A classmate roused him from his nap and started him to the black-board. The teacher kindly repeated the proposition. Young Drake, now wide awake, dashed off the demonstration. It was thoroughly

original. "Where did you get that?" asked the professor. "Thought it out," said the quiet boy.

Professor Drake writes that he began in Denmark with five scholars and closed with one hundred and twenty-five. He went from there in 1852. to Oskaloosa, into a normal school, one of three half-way appendices of the State University, provided for by the law of January 16th, 1849. The school received no aid from the University fund, however, and even its nominal connection with that institution ceased entirely in a few years. Professor Drake was aided by his wife (who was also a graduate of Oberlin College) until 1859, when his work as teacher ceased, although her's continued until 1861. Among his pupils in Oskaloosa were John F. Lacey, now in Congress, and S. H. M. Byers, late Consul to Switzerland, and author of "Sherman's March to the Sea," and of "Iowa in War Times."

Henry Kingman Edson came to Denmark in 1852, bearing an "A. B." from Amherst, a license to preach, and honors as principal of a New England academy. His principalship in Denmark covered twenty-six years, beginning with eighteen pupils and closing with two-hundred and seventy-two. He taught 2,300 different persons, and among them were such men as Professor Henry C. Adams of Michigan University, President McClelland of Pacific University, and President Charles Kendall Adams, for several years of Cornell University, and now President of the State University of Wisconsin. Mr. Edson's later years have been devoted to instruction in the Theory and Practice of Teaching, in Iowa College.

Mrs. Celestia Kirke Edson, the wife and assistant of the professor, a graduate of Mt. Holyoke Seminary, came in response to Father Turner's expressive invitation to one who was not afraid of a checked apron, and who could "pail a cow and churn the milk." She entered the hamlet with her husband riding on "a load of provender and of stove pipes," prepared to do any needed work, to grace any company, to make the school-room an attraction, and every life within touch of her own a larger benediction.

IV. STATE PROGRESS TOWARD FREE SCHOOLS. 1846-1858.

During the twelve years of this period, the area of public schools was enlarging westward, and the character of the schools in the eastern part of the State was materially elevated. It was also the period of laying permanent college foundations. Near its close railroads were entering the State, the older towns were taking on the forms of still older communities with increasing rapidity, and wealthier emigrants were bringing into them more urgent demands for all the refining influences of a better education. There was nothing surprising in all this. During these twelve years there was an inflow of half a million people, and they came very largely from states where common schools were altogether common and high schools were not rare. It was a matter of course that during such a time teaching, even in the public schools, should be approaching a profession, and that young men and that young women should be entering the State in ever increasing numbers to build themselves up in Iowa by building up Iowa schools.

The constitution of the new State required that provision should be made "for a system of common schools by which a school" should "be kept in each district at least three months in every year."

The first Governor of the State, Hon. Ansel Briggs, insisted that laws for schools called for the "immediate and careful attention" of the Legislature, and demanded a "considerable portion" of their thought.

Governor Stephen Hempstead followed in the same high tone, and Governor Grimes in 1854, and again in 1858, sounded a bugle blast for free schools, for schools completely free to every child in the State. "Property has its duties as well as its rights. It needs the conservative influence of education, and should be made to pay for its own protection," were the bold, noble, statesmanlike words of Governor Grimes.

Of course such State Superintendents as Thomas H. Benton, Jr., and Maturin L. Fisher, were among the leaders in that

epoch of progress. Noble leaders they were, even if they did dread to see delicate Iowa young ladies occupying the same recitation rooms with "our rude Iowa boys." Maturin L. Fisher, the refined alumnus of Brown University, used to argue so gracefully against co-education in the State University that some of his associates on the Board of Trustees were almost sorry, for the moment, that they could not agree with him. It was fortunate that such a sagacious gentleman was able to preside in the first county superintendents' convention, and to set the new school machinery of 1858 in motion. Up to that superb climax in educational progress the best thought of the State had been steadily sweeping until its complete consummation in the Constitutional Convention of 1857, in the Board of Education, and in the creation of the freest of free schools and in the highest of the high schools.

In the territorial diffusion of the education of this period, the first school house was built and the first school was taught as far up the Mississippi as Decorah, in 1853, the very year the town was laid out. T. W. Burdick, a lad of seventeen, was the first teacher. He afterwards served the county as its Treasurer from 1854 to 1861, then became captain of the Sixth Iowa Cavalry in the Civil War. Later he was chosen to Congress by a phenomenal majority and to the State Senate. He is now a business man, enjoying such success as is won only by integrity and ability. Henry C. Bulis, from Vermont, was the second teacher there, and in 1854. After a month in the school room he was compelled to punish a director's child. An arctic breeze arose; he promptly devoted his whole attention to medicine! He rose in his profession, and also into such official positions as the State Senatorship, the Lieutenant-Governorship, and Indian agencies. His continued interest in the schools in his county and in the State made him the first superintendent of Winnishiek County and a regent of the State University during eighteen years.

The years of 1853-5 were a gubernatorial harvest time (perhaps we should say a seed time), in the school houses of

northern Iowa. At all events embryo governors were numerous there. About the time when Henry C. Bulis was so happy in getting into a school in Decorah, and then so glad to get out of it, one William Larrabee was teaching some forty boys and girls ranging from five to twenty years of age, receiving sixteen dollars a month and boarding around in Allamakee County. Since that time he has been saucy to railroads and very good to the State while serving it as Governor.

We can hardly pause now to notice any one in northern Iowa who did not obtain the title "Honorable" or "His Excellency." In 1855 there was another inchoate Governor, C. C. Carpenter, in a school room westerly from Decorah, at Ft. Dodge, when there were only about twenty children in the place. He went there with a surveying party, taught in a log house which, like the palace of Tiberius on Capri, was afterwards used as a cow stable. His pupils brought what books they had; no others could then be purchased. Some learned to read from Fox's Book of Martyrs. The geographies, arithmetics, etc., were of similar utility and antiquity. At the close of his two months' term he says that he "was not much richer than when he began, and the scholars were not much wiser." Be that as it may, those pupils seem to have helped him into the Governor's chair in 1871, and again two years afterwards.

The first school house in Crawford County was first occupied by Morris McHenry, one term, and after that he went into the court house as County Treasurer during twelve or fourteen years.

Along the banks of the Missouri there was little teaching done before the fifties. A notable group of thousands of Mormons gathered at and near Kaneshville (near Council Bluffs of to-day), in 1847, and most of them left for Utah in 1854. In the mean time one of their number, George Green, is said to have taught the first school in Pottawattamie County, at Council Point, before 1849, and during that year the first one in Council Bluffs.

Most if not all who taught in the county while the mass of Mormons were there, were disciples of Joseph Smith and seem to have migrated with them beyond the range of Gentile vision.

The first school at Osceola, Clarke County, was taught by D. W. Scoville, in 1854, the year after the town was laid out, and Miss Sampson succeeded him.

Des Moines, or "Fort Des Moines," as it was then called, was laid out in 1846, incorporated five years later, and selected as the State Capital in 1855. Louis Whitten,¹ Clerk of the Court, taught the first school there, in the soldiers' barracks, in the winter of 1846-7. R. L. Tidrick slipped in a three months' term in 1847, and was followed by Mr. Davis the next winter, who was succeeded by Andrew J. Stevens in the summer of 1848.

The first public school organized there was in charge of Byron Rice, in 1849, and was to be taught six months from September 8th, but the young man asked to be released from his engagement before the winter was over. He had occupied the Methodist church for a time, and then had gone into the new court house, so new indeed that it was unplastered, with no outside doors, and those on the inside were made only of rough boards. The heating apparatus consisted of one box stove and one old cook stove, which gave out little heat. Des Moines is believed to have made it hot for some of her later teachers; it was evidently a little too cool for Mr. Rice. Charles Anderson was teaching in 1850, and Miss Arizona Perkins, one of Governor Slade's "missionaries," taught the following winter. The New England young ladies sent out by Governor Slade were usually excellent teachers, but school directors found it almost impossible to retain them long in the public service. How soon Miss Perkins disguised herself under the name of another we are unable to tell.

In 1855 a school house site was purchased on the corner of Ninth and Locust streets, where Mr. Getchell's house now stands, but the first public school house was not occupied

until the winter of 1856-7, when A. Stickney and three assistants were employed. Des Moines then stood waiting for its resplendent honors as our State Capital and as an educational center.

In 1853 Rev. J. A. Nash opened a select school in Des Moines, in which he was aided by Mrs. Nash. It was continued as Forest Home Seminary until 1862. In that school and in the wise efforts of its laborious founder one will find the foundations of the Des Moines College of to-day. The common schools of Polk County received an impetus from his County Superintendency, and education in his denomination was promoted by his counsel.

At Iowa City the Methodists attempted to build up a college to which they gave the city name. We shall soon notice James Harlan's connection with their enterprise. When he withdrew in 1847, Alexander Gower attracted most of the college patronage into the public school for a short time, until he himself passed out into the private school taught by H. W. Lathrop, thence through Knox College, and a post-graduate course in engineering in a Kentucky College. He was subsequently employed in the construction of the first suspension bridge over the Niagara River.

Mr. Lathrop alternated between teaching in the public school and in his private institution in Iowa City, from 1847 to 1853, and became principal of the city school when it was fully organized in the year last named. Since then he has held important city, county, university, and industrial offices, and inscribed his name on records which will be consulted till the end of Iowa history by becoming Samuel J. Kirkwood's chosen historian.

In 1847 Burlington organized her public schools, and chose as her first board of directors under State law, Charles Mason, who had been Chief Justice during all her territorial period, James W. Grimes (later Governor and United States Senator whom Iowa never blushes to compare with any other), and George Partridge, another eminent citizen.

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The choice of such men as these, and as Rev. Dr. William Salter a little later, indicates the highest educational purpose in the city. To such other promoters of the best education also, as Charles Burham, William H. Starr and T. H. Newman, and to such women as Mrs. Mary Neally (mother of the late wife of Senator Allison), and Mrs. Ruth Sheldon, the citizens of Burlington owe much for well laid foundations. Governor William Slade, of Vermont, and Catherine Beecher, rendered important aid also by their addresses there about 1848, and by sending most excellent teachers into that vicinity. Nevertheless co-education and the grading of the schools was deferred until 1858.

It was in 1852 that C. Ben Darwin, an accomplished scholar, a close thinker, and a classical speaker, was the first principal of the North Hill school at a salary of forty dollars a month. During the next year he was city solicitor, and in 1858-60 he was doing the chief work in preparing the Iowa Code of 1860.

In Davenport the first grammar school was opened by Abraham S. Kissell, of Pennsylvania, in 1856, and he was chosen to the superintendency in 1858, when the city schools were systematized. His chief work lies beyond the period especially before us, but not so far that we may not recall his creation of the Davenport Training School, his County Superintendency of two years, his State Superintendency of three years, his inspiring lectures at county institutes, his aggressive leadership in the State Teachers' Association, and in all educational work.

Three years before Mr. Kissell gave his services to Davenport, another predestined State Superintendent, Alonzo Abernethy, from Ohio, at the age of seventeen was teaching his first school in Fayette County. Before him was college life, a Union Lieutenant Colonelcy, the Presidency of Des Moines College, and of the University of Chicago, and his present quiet direction of Cedar Valley Seminary, at Osage, in this State. The enactment of the law for normal institutes, and the establishment of the State Normal School, at Cedar Falls,

are some of the permanent monuments of his State Superintendency from 1872 to 1876.

In discussing the period of State history, we cannot avoid noticing such teachers in Muscatine as George B. Dennison and his wife, D. Franklin Wells, Samuel McNutt and Moses M. Ingalls.

Muscatine entered upon concerted school work in 1848, and had the first brick school house in the State ready for occupancy in May, 1851. George B. Dennison took possession of it at once, and graded the schools. It was the first graded school in the State. He resigned after teaching some two years, but was recalled again and again to hold the same office and for varying periods. He was a leader in the State Teachers' Association, and its long time treasurer. That most useful act of January 22d, 1853, entitled "An Act to Extend the Powers of School Districts," was drawn up by him, thus making him practically the legislator, also, who made it possible to support schools by taxation.

Miss Margaret M. Lyon, a graduate of Albany Normal School, in 1846, taught a year and a half at Maquoketa, a year in Bellevue, three and one half years in Muscatine as assistant of D. Franklin Wells, in District No. 1, beginning in 1853. She closed her public teaching by a year in Davenport with A. S. Kissell, and then became Mrs. George Dennison. A teacher so attractive to D. F. Wells, to A. S. Kissell and to George B. Dennison, needs no added eulogy. Her home is still in Muscatine, the old home of her family while unbroken.

Samuel McNutt was principal in 1855-6, nearly two years, and afterwards a member of the House of Representatives, always a man of wide and great influence.

The quiet, useful Moses M. Ingalls was made principal in 1856, and was especially commended by the State Teachers' Association as a conductor of institutes under the school law of 1858. That commendation was a high honor, not only because of the intelligence of those who gave it, but also in view of the wisdom needed in the work, and of the eminence of those who had preceded him in that field.

The first institute in the State had been held in 1849, at Dubuque, as a session of the "Mining Region Teachers' Association." That earliest institute continued several days. Its conductors are said to have been such men as Josiah L. Pickard, who, during forty years has been engraving his own history on the records of Platteville Academy, of the State Superintendency of Wisconsin, the City Superintendency of Chicago, and the Presidency of the Iowa State University—conspicuous tablets for a most useful life. Elsewhere¹ we have said more of him, at present we can only add, "Non tetigit, quod non ornavit." At that institute were Thomas H. Benton, Jr., and F. E. Bissell, both already referred to on this occasion. Lincoln Clark also was there, a member of Congress a few years later, and Benjamin M. Samuels, too, a man who lacked only about 2,000 votes of being made Governor of Iowa in 1858. Chandler Childs, also, is said to have been another teacher in that institute whose principalship of the Dubuque High School in 1856, and whose later life, made him conspicuous in the educational and political history of the State. So comes to us the report of that pioneer institute. Shall we believe it? What group of Iowa teachers in this decade has enjoyed the instruction of such a brilliant coterie of "Budding Talents?"

At some time between 1849 and 1852 an institute was held at Mt. Pleasant, "by a Mr. Sweet," which attracted Mr. George W. Drake and his entire school from Denmark, and all were well pleased, as Professor Drake himself writes us. We are inclined to think, however, that this institute was a meeting of the Henry County Teachers' Association in 1850, of which the well remembered Professor Samuel L. Howe was originator and President.

There were still other conductors of note before Mr. Ingalls was invited into the field. James L. Enos, one of the first graduates of the Albany Normal School under Professor

¹In Higher Education in Iowa.

Page, and editor of the pioneer "Voice of Iowa." C. C. Nestle-rode and D. F. Wells should be named here. William McClain, later the father of Chancellor McClain of the State University, and Sybil Maynard, daughter of Dr. Joshua Maynard, the shaking of whose long index finger in our State Associations always emphasized a mass of good sense, had appeared in a typical institute in Cedar County. Professor Naylor, Jerry F. Everett and A. Hull also, had conducted a notable institute in Oskaloosa.

With these and many others like these, Moses M. Ingalls was called to be a co-laborer, and was placed in sharp comparison, and he bore it all with the profound respect of his co-workers. Our Jonathan Piper has said of him that he was "a walking inspiration to the youthful teacher. Many a one partook of his intellectual repast and thanked God for the meal."

It is not surprising that Muscatine took the lead so remarkably in more than one school enterprise before 1858. There were Parvins on the school board, John A. and Theodore Sutton, whose thoughts have been woven into Iowa history at many points, and with profit. The former we have noticed already, to the latter we must give a large place whenever we write adequately of Iowa lawyers or legislation, of her politics or her education, of her push or her progress. We may here express our gratitude for his State service and for reminiscences of value on this occasion.

John Valentine, born in Maine, descended from ancestors in Massachusetts, in England, and farther away in France, taught in Keosauqua from 1854 to 1860. Before 1870 he had been a teacher in Keokuk, in Keosauqua again, in Oskaloosa, and in Grinnell, and during the next thirteen years he engineered the construction of the Central Railroad from Grinnell to Marshalltown, and was the Superintendent successively in the schools of Waterloo, Manchester, Waverly, Marengo, Mason City, and Albia, and in the Dexter Normal School. He has taught and lectured in many teachers' insti-

tutes with great advantage to the public schools. His business ability has been in such demand as to draw him from the school-room into large business enterprises. He is now city engineer in Highlands, a suburb of Denver. The appreciation of his worth by his pupils and fellow teachers has outlived the years of absence as an affectionate admiration.

Although Moses B. Church was the pioneer teacher in Cedar County as early as 1837, we can say little in detail of schools there until Iowa became a State. He taught near Rochester, in one end of a double roomed log cabin, while the family occupied the other end. Nineteen years later there were two schools in the county especially noteworthy, viz., the "Quaker School" at Springdale, and the "Union School" at Tipton. The "Quaker School" was then attracting attention outside of its locality and beyond the denomination whose name it bore.

C. C. Nestlerode made Tipton a sort of apiary from 1856 to 1862, where honey bees abounded, and where there was occasionally a hornet to give it a lively variety. The chief worker of course was Mr. Nestlerode himself, a young man from Centre County, Pennsylvania, with a moderate education, and intensest enthusiasm, progressive, aggressive, and those unfriendly to him thought him digressive. He had a large heart, and gave the whole of it to the Tipton school, except when some moral or patriotic theme seemed to demand the freest sort of free speech on some other topic. One of those digressive expressions has become historic on the pages of your own RECORD, the one in which on October 1st, 1861, as President of the Iowa Teachers' Association, he offered Governor Kirkwood the service of every Iowa teacher in administering "lead and steel to traitors." He graded the Tipton schools in 1856, was sustained by such men in the community as Rev. M. K. Cross, Dr. Joshua Maynard, Wm. Fraseur and Wm. Elliott, and in the school room by such teachers as Sybil M. Maynard, W. P. Wolf, Milo P. Smith and J. W. Reeder. Over against him were the "school kill-

ers," as he used to call them. During a few years they all seemed to live in a torrid zone. Nestlerode's generous soul, tireless energy and creative spirit, made him a power for good among his pupils, in the Teachers' Association and among the legislators.

He resigned his Superintendency in 1862, and has been in other business in Ohio since then, bearing the fervor and force of youth into his three-score years and ten. The reunions of the Tipton Union School are superb ovations to its first well-beloved principal of 1856 to 1862.

We can now linger in that Union School only to notice Wm. P. Wolf, who afterwards bore the title of Captain in the Civil War, and who survived, by sheer force of will, apparently, though southern lead had whizzed through his lungs. Since then his neighbors have called him into legislative and other public service in civil life with honor to himself and to them.

Jonathan Piper came from New Hampshire and from Bowdoin College to originate Troy Academy in Davis County in 1853. He taught two years there, five at St. Francisville, Missouri, two at Eddyville, several in county institutes, and three in Manchester. Since then, in connection with agencies for school book publishers, he has been doing first class teaching as a peripatetic. At his quaintest he might easily pass for the original "Brother Jonathan" in personal appearance, in versatility, originality of thought, and in vigorous nobility of purpose. He has been welcome everywhere, and has been stimulative of the best in teacher and pupil. We regret that Iowa has not won his whole life to its service in some of its higher institutions. His "A. B." from our State University, and his "A. M." from Iowa College and from Bowdoin, honors those institutions more than himself.

T. B. Perry, a teacher in Monroe County in 1853, is noticed by a newspaper writer as follows: "He struck Ohio in 1832—usual way—but did not reach Iowa until 1850, when he landed at Burlington. He whacked around at school teaching until 1853, when he located at Albia, and taught the

Albia school that winter." We may add that he gave his life to the law, and served his county as County Attorney, and his district on the Board of Education, and is now a State Senator.

A. Hull, a graduate of Hiram College, and a class-mate of James A. Garfield, began his Iowa teaching in Mt. Pleasant in 1855, continued it in Ottumwa, Troy, Iowa City, Ashland and Oskaloosa. He has spent about twenty-five years in select schools in Oskaloosa, and in Oskaloosa College. He is a clear thinker and an accurate teacher. Mahaska County must be credited with still another veteran. Jerry F. Everett has been identified with its schools as a City or a County Superintendent most of the time since 1857, although he spent a few years as City Superintendent in Rock Island. He has earned his present retirement, *otium cum dignitate*.

More than one deserves mention among early Iowa school builders who were not technically school teachers. Those who were on our northwestern frontier in 1858 would feel slighted if we failed on this occasion to name Rev. Chauncey Taylor, of Algona. "Father Taylor" as he was soon known. His good church work was fully equalled by good school work in that region of magnificent distances. He was the first County Superintendent of Kossuth County, and walked some two hundred miles to attend the great County Superintendents' Convention at Iowa City. His report of that effort to be better prepared to serve his half-dozen teachers and one hundred and ten persons of school age was cheered to the echo in that body, for no other one of us had indulged in any such muscular pioneering. His name is fragrant in all that northwestern region, fragrant still, fragrant for heroisms of happiest, fruitful self-sacrifice.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

Some of the stronger institutions of higher education now in Iowa opened their doors between the years 1846 and 1858. Most of the professional teachers were found in these during

this period, although a considerable number of public schools were beginning to be maintained during a major part of the year. Some educational balloons then appeared also; perhaps we should even say that, like the poor, they have always been with us, or almost always. They have been inflated with the usual material and have commonly collapsed in reasonably good time.

It may not be wholly amiss to say that the advent of one of these was in the year 1855, in one of our best educational cities. It was an institution of promise, of immense promise, indeed it was all promise, a "Female University," "the only Female University in the United States." It provided for "twelve professorships in the sciences and letters," two "upon the professions of the sex," one "upon conversation, and the proprieties," and one on "the trades taught in the University," and for "eighteen species of diploma," all "female" diplomas, we must suppose.

We are now prepared for the further assurance given at that time that "the University is designed to supply not only the great wants in the female systems of the times, but the wants of diverse classes of our country women, the wealthy as well as the indigent, genius as well as mediocrity," and that "the character and extent of the instructions" will be "unapproached" elsewhere. It seems that the wonderful teachers in that institution were also "unapproached," for the directory of that city for 1856 does not contain the name even of that university. The historian alone has saved it from oblivion.

There were some truly good teachers in short-lived institutions before 1858.

The building erected in Fairfield, in 1850, for the branch of the State University, was unoccupied during several years, until Rev. Mr. Anderson taught a school there, which was called Fairfield Academy. Still later Rev. A. T. Axline was Principal of the Academy during ten years, thus furnishing an important link between the earlier schools of that educational center and the Parsons College of to-day.

About 1858 Rev. L. G. Bell originated a Female Seminary in Fairfield, and made it successful for many years. He was followed successively by Miss Pelletreau, Rev. Mr. Crittenden and Robert (later "Honorable Robert") Hughes.

We may notice the Ladies' College, known later as "Mt. Ida Female College," in Davenport, in 1855. The college building (still standing) was of brick, one hundred and twenty feet front, eighty deep and four stories high, and the campus embraced a whole block on Third Street, between College and Bridge Avenues. It contained much more of the rock and less of the rocket in its composition than did the Female "University" just mentioned. At one time its Board of Instruction consisted of Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Coddington, Rev. F. L. Dudley and Mrs. Sarah A. Dudley, of Misses Adeline Hayes, Amelie R. Gue and Mary J. Wells. It enrolled one hundred and fifty students in 1856, but was closed before the outbreak of the Civil War.

Burlington University was incorporated in 1852, the corner stone was laid in 1853, and in January, 1854, a few months before the building was finished, a school under University auspices was begun. The first principal was Rev. G. W. Gunnison. He taught a short time and was followed by others. Rev. Dr. L. B. Allen rendered it eminent service, beginning in 1857. He was materially aided by Rev. Joseph T. Robert, LL. D., who served the State University as Professor of Ancient Languages from 1863 to 1867. The first preceptress of the Burlington institution was Mrs. A. P. Darwin, "A. B." of Oberlin, "a woman of ripe culture," an inspiring teacher, the "superior" even of her husband, Hon. C. Ben Darwin, says one who was well acquainted with both in Burlington. She taught a private school from 1853 to 1858.

The later decline of the University leaves no shadow on its earlier teachers.

Rev. Thomas Merrill led a group of earnest reformers and friends of manual labor, to secure a site for Wittenburg College on the prairie four miles north of Newton. Great

expectations were cherished, and a school was commenced. John Meyer, an Oberlin graduate, from Pennsylvania, taught there in 1857, when young Ryan, of Newton, now District Judge, was a pupil of his. The hard times set in, the Civil War came on, and Iowa College, not wholly unlike Wittenburg in spirit, was only twenty miles away. The College failed but John Meyer did not. He raised a company for the army, and became its Captain, and was made Major for bravery at Champion Hill. He writes us, characteristically, that he was "never killed or wounded." He has served one term as an Iowa Representative, and two terms as State Senator, and is still in prosperous business. He has been a trustee of Iowa College thirty-five years. Such men are making Iowa richer in thought, in aspiration and in achievement.

W. W. Jamieson, a native of Virginia and a graduate of Washington College, may be pronounced "easily first" among the teachers whom the people of Keokuk have delighted to honor. We venture a little over our limit of "before 1858" in speaking of him, inasmuch as his first work in Iowa was begun in May of that year. His ten years in his Keokuk Classical School were so pleasing to the people of the city, that he was chosen to the City Superintendency more than twenty successive years. Those city schools are the lengthened shadow of one man — of W. W. Jamieson.¹

Of those schools chartered within the period under review under the name they now bear, the oldest is Iowa College. It now represents two original institutions. The older "Iowa College" was chartered in 1847. Professor Erastus Ripley organized its classes in 1848 in Davenport. He came from Connecticut, was an "A. B." of Yale; and was highly honored in Iowa College as teacher and acting President from 1848 to 1858, when the institution there was closed. He then returned to Connecticut and taught most of the time until his

¹ Deceased since the delivery of this lecture.— EDITOR.

death in 1870. Rev. Daniel Lane, from Bowdoin College, and a ten years' ministry in Keosauqua, became Principal of the Preparatory Department in 1853, and soon after Professor of Mental and Moral Science. After 1858 he taught several years in Davenport and Keosauqua, with such lads under his care as V. P. Twombly, late Captain in the Civil War, and later State Treasurer, Thomas S. Wright,¹ now attorney-in-chief of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad, and W. W. Baldwin, of Burlington, another railroad attorney.

Daniel S. Sheldon was a Burlington teacher from 1850 to 1853, when he was called to Iowa College to teach Natural Science. He continued to occupy the same chair in Griswold College, when it succeeded Iowa College, in Davenport. "He was chief among the founders of the Academy of Sciences" in that city. Ripley, Lane, Sheldon,—such men make a college and a State fortunate.

"Grinnell University," the other factor in the present Iowa College, was a university only in thought and on paper.

The Grinnell town site was occupied in 1854, and then Darius Thomas taught a private school in the place, and passed on to Newton, when it was but a dot on the prairie. Mr. Thomas was of Maryland birth, and a graduate of Jefferson College, Pennsylvania. He opened Hazel Dell Academy in Newton, with seven pupils, afterwards maintained it in competition with a good public school, and taught some 2,000 different pupils in thirty years. His motto was not "Ne plus ultra," but "Excelsior." Few teachers sent so many on into college courses.

The teachers in the Grinnell public school were, Lucy Bixby, Rev. Samuel Loomis, Samuel F. Cooper and others, until 1856, when L. F. Parker accepted its principalship and retained it until he became connected with the new Iowa College in 1859. Mrs. Sarah C. Parker assisted him occasionally in the public school, and became the first lady Principal

¹ Deceased since the delivery of this lecture.—EDITOR.

in Iowa College. Mr. Cooper was a graduate of Oberlin, became a lawyer, was made Lieutenant Colonel of the Fortieth Iowa Infantry, U. S. Judge in Arkansas, and Consul to Glasgow. He was also Chairman of the Committee on District Organization in the Board of Education, secured the adoption of the "township district" system by that body, and compiled the State law as it was finally enacted in 1858.

That public school in Grinnell was so conducted that the District Court recognized it in 1858 as practically the preparatory department of the Grinnell University. The union of the University and the College was somewhat informally effected in 1859, and completed in 1860.

At Mt. Pleasant, in 1842, a school was opened by Rev. Aristides J. Huestis, which became the Mt. Pleasant Collegiate Institute in 1844. Its heir-at-law is now the Iowa Wesleyan University, which was incorporated in 1855. Hon. James Harlan writes us as follows: "Measured by the personal character, attainments and accomplishments of the teachers themselves, or by the fruits—immediate and ultimate—of their educational work, I suppose the impartial and informed historian will give Aristides J. Huestis the first place."

No presiding officer of the Mt. Pleasant institution is so directly and essentially connected with our national history as James Harlan himself. He was a pioneer farmer boy in Indiana, was taught in a log school house, was intellectually aroused by a peripatetic common school teacher, and graduated at Asbury University, a scholarly man and a captivating speaker, but purposing to return through the district school to the farm. While he was in Indiana, in that common school door-way of his future, in 1846, Iowa City College wanted a principal. Rev. James L. Thompson found young Harlan and won him to Iowa City. To him teaching was good, speaking was better, a touch of politics made his future seem best of all. That young man of twenty-six defeated the honored Charles Mason in a campaign for the Iowa State Superintendency, if that can be called a campaign in which

Mason, like Achilles, sat somewhat sullenly in his tent. A supposed flaw in the election shortened Harlan's term a year, and then the misspelling of his name caused him to lose a second election to the same place. That great disappointment was the germ of a greater career. He turned to the law, was called from that to the Presidency of Iowa Wesleyan University in 1853, and only two years afterwards he was sent from there to the United State Senate. Of his three terms in that body, his service in Andrew Johnson's Cabinet, of his great speeches in opposition to such orators even as Carl Schurz and Charles Sumner, in short, of his eminence as teacher and as statesman, we need enter into no detail. That his star shines gloriously in our State and in our national firmament we need not pause to affirm. Centuries hence the historian will say — "James Harlan still lives."

Jerome Allen, an "A. B." of Amherst College, came to Iowa in 1852, and was principal of the young academy at Maquoketa until 1854. On the recommendation of Professor Hitchcock, his college teacher in science, he was made Professor of Natural Sciences in Alexander College, at Dubuque. That college, rich and prosperous, as painted by the verbal artist of the period, was a very elementary school in fact, and was blotted entirely out of sight and off from the treasurer's books by the hard times of 1857, and all was so completely done that one of its own trustees, even, did not know in 1890 that it had ever existed.

A little before Alexander College ceased to be, the academy at West Point, or "Des Moines Valley College," as it was called in 1850, closed its doors.

Such men as J. E. Sharon, Revs. T. H. and F. B. Dinsmore, and as Salmon and Henry Cowles, had given it their services as teachers, and Dr. Grimes, of Des Moines, and Hon. Samuel M. Clark, of Keokuk, had been pupils there. In 1855 the Presbyterian Synod transferred its favor from West Point to Hopkinton, and that northern locality became so inviting that Professor Allen entered upon the principalship

there of Bowen Collegiate Institute. He found an unfinished building. Eight years later he left the institute with the building complete, with the foundation of a library, and an honored name, and not a dollar of debt.

Within that time Samuel Calvin and Thomas McBride, now professors in Iowa State University, were his pupils. Professor Allen more than any other man inaugurated normal institutes in Iowa.

It was with deep regret that he felt compelled to leave Iowa and entered upon educational work in New York. Since then he has been an editor of educational journals, author of educational volumes, president of normal colleges, and recently Professor of Pedagogics in the University of the City of New York. A recent stroke of paralysis seems to have brought his life-work near its close.¹ His monuments will stand in two States at least.

The Iowa Conference Seminary was opened at Mt. Vernon in 1852. Samuel M. Fellows served the institution as its principal till it became Cornell College in 1857. He then remained in it six years longer as a professor or as its president, and until his death. He is honored there for his scholarship, mental balance, efficiency and benignity.

President Fellows' brother, Stephen N., was associated with him from 1854 till 1860. He then engaged in the ministry till 1867, when he was chosen to succeed Professor D. F. Wells, as Principal of the Normal Department of the State University. While in that office he advocated the suspension of elementary normal training in the University and the establishment of the chair of Pedagogics. His plan was adopted, and his chair was the first one in the world devoted to the instruction of advanced undergraduates in the science and in the art of teaching. It was the only one indeed during several years, though it is now one of the most popular in State Universities and in denominational colleges. He taught

¹ Deceased since the delivery of this lecture. EDITOR.

there twenty years, and left on the institution and on the public mind the indelible evidence of his great service.

Miss Catherine A. Fortner, one of "Governor Slade's teachers in Iowa," was the first female teacher in the Seminary, and its first "Preceptress." She taught there from 1853 to 1857, when she became the wife of Rev. Rufus Ricker. Dr. Fellows speaks in eulogistic terms of her very useful life at Mt. Vernon, and later.

The Central University was founded at Pella in 1853. Among its early teachers none deserve higher honor than Amos Noyes Currier. He was a live Yankee on Iowa soil in 1857, a graduate of Dartmouth. After enjoying the hospitalities of a Confederate prison he resumed service at Pella at the close of the war. He was called from there to the State University in 1867, where he has long been the best man for Dean of the Faculty. The students still welcome him and no ambitious regent yet thinks of asking him to resign.

The germ of Tabor College appeared in the incorporation of the Tabor Literary Institute in 1854, and still more manifestly in 1857, when William M. Brooks entered upon the leadership at Tabor, which he has maintained ever since. He began with the work at hand, teaching teachers, and gradually enlarged it till Tabor has long been doing full college work. No man has done so much for education in southwestern Iowa as President Brooks. Though an educator and a minister he has taken time to influence State politics by campaign speeches, and State legislation by serving as a member of the Legislature.

A seminary was opened at Fayette in the care of the Upper Iowa Conference. Rev. Lucius H. Bugbee was its principal from 1857 till 1860. He gained enviable distinction as a writer and as a speaker in Ohio, after leaving here, as he had already done in Iowa.

The State University was the only State educational institution which was open before 1858. Attempts were made in 1849 to establish "branches" of the University at Fairfield and Dubuque, or more exactly to create three independent

Universities. The result was nothing tangible in Dubuque. At Fairfield a twenty acre campus was purchased and \$2,500 expended on a building which was destroyed by a hurricane and then rebuilt, when the State surrendered the enterprise to local control.

Three normal schools were practically a part of the scheme of 1849 for three Universities. They were to be located at Mt. Pleasant, Andrew and Oskaloosa. The local effort at Mt. Pleasant never reached a stage beyond preliminary "talk."

The school at Andrew was organized November 21st, 1849, with Samuel Prey as principal and Miss Julia S. Dorr as assistant. They were succeeded five months later by D. G. Jones and Miss M. J. Burton. A building intended for that school absorbed \$1,000, but was never finished. The Oskaloosa school took on more substantial life in that it enjoyed a home of its own in a two story brick building which cost \$2,500, and was under the care of Professor Drake and his wife as long as it bore the shadow of the University name. These Oskaloosa teachers have been noticed in connection with Denmark Academy.

The actual opening of the University occurred in 1855. It was somewhat irregularly maintained until the summer of 1858, when the trustees voted to close it, but soon so far modified their purpose as to maintain the normal department.

Amos Dean, a professor in the law school at Albany, New York, and an author of repute, held the office of Chancellor from 1855 to 1858. His counsel was valuable to the trustees, although he did no teaching in the University.

John Van Valkenberg was the first principal of the normal department. The second principal, D. Franklin Wells, an urbane gentleman, and a born organizer, was called from Muscatine. He held that office during 1856 to 1860, when the University officials made a great, though not wholly unprecedented, mistake in permitting him to retire. The year following he devoted himself to the service of the entire State as Superintendent of Public Instruction, and until his death in

1868, if that can be called death which simply closes the page of a noble and ever-to-be-remembered life.

Among the active professors were such men as Abel Beach, who taught only seven weeks in 1855, and then resigned on account of ill health. In his wrestle for life he has won moderate physical strength, business success, and reputation as a poet. E. M. Guffin, "A. B.," of Union, conducted the preparatory department from 1855 to 1864, excepting during its suspension of three years after 1858. He adopted President Nott's general method of college government, and with good success. Henry S. Welton, a graduate of Hamilton College, closed his three years' service in the chair of languages in 1858. He then taught a private school and was employed as City Superintendent in Iowa City in 1860. Later years have been devoted chiefly to business, while he has taught private classes occasionally and in teachers' institutes. Frederic Humphrey, an "A. B." of Hamilton College, was Professor of Mathematics from 1856 to 1858. He subsequently took orders in the Episcopal Church, and was made Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Seabury Divinity School. J. M. Stone occupied the chair of Natural Philosophy, and was acting President of the faculty from 1856 to 1858, energetic and popular with teachers and students. He was deemed a well rounded man, even if he did induce the State Teachers' Association to vote that total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks is "essential to the highest grade of physical, mental and moral attainments."

Here we must close personal details, sadly incomplete as they are. Let us devote a moment's thought to the houses in which those early teachers did their work.

When Iowa became a State in 1846 the oldest frame school house had been standing only six years, and that was ten years old before the first brick school house was erected. All school houses were built of logs until 1840, and it was twelve years later when they ceased to outnumber all others. There were only about one hundred of all sorts in 1846, and their average value was \$135.

It was often hard to determine what was the proper name for those buildings, and especially so at the time when they were erected. Every school house, so called, before 1844 was built either by one person or by a group of volunteers, and usually intended to be used as a church as truly as a school building. The first of this list was erected in Burlington in 1833, but its builder, Wm. R. Ross, said it was for "preaching" also. Dubuque rejoiced in a "school" house as early as 1833 or 1834, but it was also called a "church" and a "court house," and was also used as a town hall. In fact, however, it was built for the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was to be used as a school house only by the consent of the church trustees. In early Denmark they had a "shanty sanctuary which was to be a school house as well for eight years," and was used for a time "without door, floor, or window." As late as 1859 the school house in Grinnell, even though erected by the school district like many another so built, was the only church, polling-place, court room, lyceum, and universal reception room in the town. In such buildings those early teachers did their work. As the "Territory" of Iowa was passing into a "State," educational facilities were noticeably enlarging, nevertheless we are still to remember that never do they approach the completeness of the palatial buildings and the superb appliances of the city schools of 1894.

Many of the teachers named on this occasion were less than half-time teachers. No public or private school could be maintained during the entire year in either the "aboriginal" or "transitional" period, scarcely one in the "territorial" period, only one now and then in the early years of the State.

It is to the endless honor of these early Iowans before and during the time of Iowa Territory that so many academies were "thought on," even if they never did materialize in anything more tangible than an idea. The wish for them was father to the thought that chartered them, and their charters were the rosy fingers of the dawn, the prophecy of Iowa primacy in general education. Living academies and develop-

ing colleges made Iowa more inviting to the intelligent at as early a day as means and children permitted. There was no needless delay; there was no idle indifference. Schools filled the year, and teachers became professionals as soon as wisdom pronounced either to be wise.

The work of the hour is done for the hour has more than passed; done inadequately, with regretted omissions. May larger justice yet be done by other hands to early Iowa benefactors already almost forgotten.

It has been with ever increasing gratification that we have looked in, even thus far, upon the early teachers in their rude rooms, on their slab seats, among their busy boys and buxom girls, on salaries of twelve or fourteen dollars a month for three months in a year. Teachers and pupils were in the stage of development, in their period of "becoming," and what did they not become? If there has been anywhere on earth or in the air a conscious goddess of America, she has never blushed for any period of Iowa education. Its rudest years were progressive, a steady march toward the higher and better, a wise movement upward and always fairly according to the ability of the people.

Only a Plato was needed to make the Greek Academy, and an Aristotle to create the Lyceum. A Garfield wanted only a Mark Hopkins near that he might enjoy the best of Universities. Measured by such a standard few schools have been better than that first one at Ah-wi-pe-tuck, or more inspiring than that in which Mrs. Darwin taught. It was a broader life for pupils to feel the mental touch of a Harlan a Huestis or a Howe at Mt. Pleasant, a McDill at Kossuth, a Benton at Dubuque, a Larrabee at West Union, a Bulis at Decorah, a Wolf or a Nestlerode at Tipton, a Stone or a Wells in Iowa City, or any other one of the long list of those young men for whose conspicuous service in camp, or college, or Legislature, the State and even the nation was waiting. Were it possible to do full justice to each, more than one young woman would appear in the-school room inspiration to

many useful lives in early Iowa history although there were never so many female teachers here as male until 1858.

It is possible that some early teachers sought the meager salary awaiting them more than the best service; it is certain that a large proportion of them rejoiced more in what they imparted than in what they acquired.

The reincarnations of Hindoo mythology may be purely fanciful, nevertheless it is strictly historical to affirm that Socrates wrote in Plato's dialogues, and Rousseau philosophized in the French Revolution, that Jefferson's professor, Dr. Small, occupied the chair of state with our third President, and that some teachers before 1858 are shaping Iowa thought and life to-day.

"They live again
In minds made better by their presence; live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars."

I am not old enough to use the old man's privilege of saying, "Alas, alas, the golden age has gone by; forever gone." I may say however, that in the midst of our growing libraries, bewildering apparatus and countless knowledges, if a pupil takes a teacher's mental photograph in this generation, he catches it by a "snap shot." In that earlier day the teacher was more nearly the school and the *whole* school than he can be to-day.

[NOTE.—The following address is printed from the reporter's notes. The manuscript was submitted to Dr. Parvin, but owing to illness he was unable to revise it before publication.]

THE EARLY BAR OF IOWA.



CONGRATULATE the Society that calls me here to-night; it is thirty-seven years since I had the pleasure and honor to deliver the address at the organization of the State Historical Society of Iowa. It was in the Athenæum building that stood on the corner of Clinton and Market streets, and thence removed to the corner of Dubuque and Burlington streets. It was successively the house of worship of the Episcopal and Catholic congregations, and is now used by Mr. G. B. Lumbard as a lumber office. Two years ago, I had the honor of delivering the address in commemoration of the laying of the corner stone of the capitol building fifty years ago. I am glad to come here to the Athens of Iowa, under the shadow of the State University, and I wish that its conditions of prosperity and growth were even more marked. Better that the arm be palsied and that the tongue cleave to the roof of the mouth than that any man seek to cripple or disturb the State University, the crowning head of the educational system of Iowa. All who seek to be good citizens, and to advance culture in the State owe to it loyal support.

I am to speak of one of the learned professions of the day, and you may be called upon to listen to some discussion of another of the learned professions, that of the teacher, for they were in some instances brought closely together in the pioneer days. In what I shall say to-night, I shall not introduce the name of a man with whom I was not personally acquainted, nor an incident of the early bar of which I am not personally

cognizant, either directly or by communication from the actors therein.

The word Iowa, "land of beauty," for the first time appears in legal history in connection with Michigan in 1829, when that Territory embraced the present state of Wisconsin and the entire Territory north of Missouri and west of the Mississippi river as a single county or district under the name of Iowa. Afterwards when Iowa became a part of Wisconsin, the name was attached to the district west of the Mississippi river.

Iowa became known throughout the east and in legal annals by reason of the holding of the first court west of the great river and north of the State of Missouri, and it was presided over by Judge Lynch. Lest you may think the territory was at that time lawless and the gathering place of criminals, I state as a positive fact that there have been more murders committed in a single year, in one county, within one hundred miles of this city, than in all the Territory of Iowa within the twelve years of its existence. The trial was conducted with all the decorum and formality that would be observed in a court of justice to-day. A murder had been committed at the Dubuque lead mines in 1834, in the month of May. At that time there was actually no law and practically no government in what is now Iowa. The miners were a law-abiding people; they apprehended the murderer and took him across the river to the State of Illinois, in order that he might have a trial. Of course they were told that the courts of Illinois could have no jurisdiction in cases occurring outside the State. They came back to Iowa, and, determining the prisoner should have a fair trial, organized the first court in the Territory, presided over, as I have said by Judge Lynch. A jury was selected, counsel provided for the prisoner, and the trial conducted as though in an United States court. When he was convicted a priest of the Catholic church was called from Illinois that he might receive spiritual consolation before his execution. When this event occurred I was a student at col-

lege in Cincinnati, in my sophomore year. I remember when one morning our professor, an alumnus of Harvard College, took from his pocket a newspaper and read the incident before the class. He was very much excited over it and appealed to the class to give their opinions. I took a very decided stand in defence of the act, little dreaming that in less than four years I should visit that very spot and become personally acquainted with most of the jury. One of the jurors was the first postmaster commissioned in Iowa; another was one of the members of the first Territorial Council; a third was through many years known as one of the most distinguished citizens of the State. All would to-day pass as most reputable men. This case had the effect of drawing the attention of the entire country to the fact that there was no judicial government in this northwest, since none had been provided by Congress in attaching the territory west of the Mississippi to the Territory of Michigan. Later, when Wisconsin was organized as a Territory, Iowa was attached to it. Wisconsin began its existence as a separate Territory in 1836.

At the organization of the Territory President Van Buren (who was a democrat) appointed three judges of the Supreme Court—Charles Mason, of Burlington; Joseph Williams, of Muscatine; and Thomas S. Wilson, of Dubuque.

The first session of the Supreme Court¹ of the Territory

¹ First Session of Supreme Court of Iowa Territory held at Burlington, Nov. 28th, 1838.

Judges—Chas. Mason, Burlington, First District. Joseph Williams, Muscatine, Second District. Thos. S. Wilson, Dubuque, Third District. All deceased.

Attorneys admitted to practice at that term, twenty in all and all dead, except myself. They were:

Burlington—David Rorer, James W. Grimes, Henry W. Starr, Wm. H. Starr, James W. Woods, M. D. Browning.

Dubuque—Stephen Hempstead, B. Rush Petrikin.

Ft. Madison—Philip Viele, Alfred Rich.

Mt. Pleasant—G. W. Teas, J. B. Teas.

Muscatine—S. C. Hastings, R. P. Lowe, Stephen Whicher, Irad C. Day, T. S. Parvin.

Davenport—Wm. B. Conway, Isaac Van Allen, Chas. Weston.

was held at Burlington, in 1838. The first land sale was in progress, bringing men from all parts of the Territory, which was then but a strip of land along the river, extending from Keokuk to a point north of Dubuque. The first Territorial Legislature was then in session at Burlington.

I came to the Territory a minor, and it was necessary before hanging out my shingle that I should be admitted to the bar. So I went to Dubuque to make my application to Judge Wilson. I had seen the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Judges of the Supreme Courts of States, but up to that time I had never met a Judge of a Supreme Court who was under sixty years of age, and of course I associated the position with white hairs. At this time I was twenty-one. I went to Judge Wilson's house and rapped at the door, which was opened by a young man, not much older than myself. Supposing him to be the Judge's son, I asked, "Is your father in?" and he replied, "My father has been dead many years." I said, "I want to see Judge Wilson, Judge of the Supreme Court," and you may conceive of my astonishment when he replied, "I presume I am the man you wish to see, I am Judge Wilson." I asked his age and he told me he was twenty-five. He had practiced in Iowa two years and in the first Dubuque newspaper his name appears among the attorneys.

I was not the only one mistaken in the Judge's youthful appearance for at the next session of the court, the report being brought that there was a steamer at the wharf, the Judge asked the United States Marshal, a man old enough to be his father, to go down and engage for him a berth on this boat.—the old Knickerbocker, commanded by Captain Throckmorton. This he did, of course not forgetting to tell the captain that it was for Judge Wilson, of the Iowa Supreme Court. Returning he gave the Judge the number of the state room. When the Judge went down he went directly to the room and was about to take possession when the captain interfered—"Hold on, young man, you can't have that room!"

“But,” said the Judge, “this is the number that was engaged for me.” “No, it isn’t, that room is reserved for his honor Judge Wilson, of the Supreme Court; you can have just as good a room, but you can’t have that.” It is said steamboat captains sometimes used adjectives, and it is reported that on this occasion the captain used some that were quite emphatic.

Judge Wilson was a native of Ohio; he came to Iowa on reaching manhood. He resides in Dubuque to-day¹ and save myself is the only survivor of the first three years of the early bar of territorial existence.

Judge Mason was a native of New York, and graduated at West Point, at the head of his class, in which he had such associates as Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. At an early day Davis was a lieutenant under General Taylor. After the treaty of the Black Hawk Purchase, the Indians retained possession of the lands for twelve months, and among the many people who gathered in Illinois along the river, waiting their opening to settlement, there were those who sought to enter early. Taylor and Davis drove these settlers from Iowa, back across the river into Illinois. Lee was a captain of the engineering department at the works on the lower rapids. Counties in Iowa bear the names of Davis and Lee. Davis was not named for the afterchief of the confederacy, and the naming of Lee is unsettled. They were identified with the early history of Iowa as I have related. Mason went into practice of law on his graduation, resided and died at Burlington, and was a Judge of the Supreme Court during the entire territorial period. He lived on a fine farm near Burlington, and was well-to-do. He was, I think the ablest member of the court, an able judge, and became United States Commissioner of Patents, Superintendent of Public Instruction of Iowa, and one of the codifying commission that produced the code of 1851. He lived an honored and pure life and left a record worthy of imitation by all young men.

¹ Since the delivery of this address Judge Wilson has died.

Of Judge Williams I might relate many anecdotes. More stories have been told of him than of any twelve other men in Iowa. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and in his early years became for a time member of a traveling circus, when he fell into the hands of wise counselors who directed his attention to study and he became a lawyer and a judge. One incident I cannot forbear relating. I had been appointed to purchase the first law library for the Supreme Court, and was on my way to Baltimore to select the books when I stopped at Columbus, Ohio to consult Governor Mason, whose advice and assistance I had been directed to secure. When I registered at the hotel the clerk said, "we had an Iowa man here last night, and he was the liveliest man I ever saw." I looked on the register, and sure enough there was the name "Joseph Williams." "We had a nigger (for they always said 'nigger' then) fiddler here, but that Iowa man took the fiddle right out of his hands, and I tell you he made good music." The Judge was an excellent violinist and was always ready to fiddle, sing and tell stories; but in court he presided with dignity and decorum.

These three Judges appointed for four years, were all Democrats, but when their terms expired there was a Whig President, Tyler, and it was expected by many that he would appoint Whigs to the positions. Mason was rich, had his farm, and did not care for the place. Wilson had his law practice and felt he could do as well at that as on the bench; but Williams, having nothing to fall back on, was very anxious for re-appointment and started to Washington to secure a renewal of his commission. In those days all the travel from east to west was by land and mostly by stage. When the Judge reached Wheeling, he fell in with a handsome lady going east, and being a very gallant man and quite at ease among the ladies, he had no trouble in making himself agreeable and made known to the lady the nature of his business at Washington. They were traveling companions all the way to Baltimore, and strangely enough the Judge never found out the lady's name.

When he got to Washington he fixed himself up in his best manner and called upon the President. He was very cordially received. "What can I do for you Judge Williams?" said the President. The Judge suggested, as delicately as he could, that he would like to have his commission renewed. "Oh," was the reply, "that is already fixed, but I would like to have you stay awhile." He was taken into the parlor and there met the lady who had been his traveling companion—the President's wife, who greeted him most affably and said, "I spoke to my husband about you and he said you should have the appointment." The Judge was as gallant to men as to ladies, and having been so fortunate in his own case, determined to put in a plea for Mason and Wilson. So he asked the President to re-appoint his associates. Madam seconded the request, and they were accordingly all three re-appointed and served eight years, until Iowa was admitted as a State.

To go back a little. During the time the country west of the river was under the jurisdiction of Wisconsin, Judge David Irwin was assigned to the Iowa district and held court here, and I became quite well acquainted with him. But on the organization of Iowa as a Territory, he returned to the east side, and resided at Platteville, Wisconsin, where he died.

In the first days of the Territory there were a great many young men engaged in the study of law. The first session of the Supreme Court met in the parlor of a tavern. It was a small room, and a platform raised one step above the floor served as a bench for the Judges. Court was opened and the first business was the admission of twenty lawyers.

There was only one case on the docket. It was an appeal from that county. I was invited by the attorney for the defense to argue the case after the prosecution had been heard, and made the only argument and won the case. After the decision, court adjourned and the Judges honored me with congratulations on my maiden effort. But the counsel whom I had assisted, our client being acquitted, told me that on regaining his liberty, he had seized a rifle standing by the door and

made off with it. It was for the theft of this same rifle that he had been arrested and it was to be the fee of my brother attorney for clearing him. I can assure you I felt sorry for him.

I will now give the names of the attorneys of that period.¹ I begin at Dubuque, for it is by far the oldest settlement in Iowa, having been settled by a Frenchman in 1788—Julien DuBuque—who died in 1810.

The first attorney was W. W. Corriell, editor of a paper there, and for some years engaged in law practice. I am sorry that no file of his paper remains in the Historical Society, nor anywhere else in Iowa.

Thos. S. Wilson, afterward Judge of the Supreme Court.

Stephen Hempstead, of Dubuque, member of Congress, subsequently Governor, member of Codifying Commission and prominent in legislation.

B. Rush Petrikin, first register of the United States land office.

At Davenport, W. B. Conway, the first Secretary of the Territory.

At Muscatine—then Bloomington—S. C. Hastings, familiarly called "Old Red," to distinguish him from Hastings, of Burlington, called "Little Red," and who was in fact an older

¹ROLL OF ATTORNEYS (113) PRACTICING IN IOWA DURING TERRITORIAL YEARS, 1836-1846. COLLATED FROM MEMORY BY, AND PERSONALLY KNOWN TO THE LECTURER.

Those in italics are living, 1894.

Dubuque. (17) W. W. Corriell, T. S. Wilson, Stephen Hempstead, W. W. Chapman, removed to Burlington in 1837, Peter Hill Engle, Geo. Green, Platt Smith, Timothy Davis, Jas. Crawford, L. A. Thomas, Thos. Rogers, H. Joshua Barney, James Churchman, John V. Berry, Theophilus Crawford, David S. Wilson, *Sam'l. Murdock*, M. Bainbridge.

Davenport. (10) Alex McGregor, G. C. R. Mitchell, Jas. Grant, Eb. Cook, W. J. A. Bradford, John Parker, Jas. Thorington, Chas. Weston, Isaac Van-Allen.

Muscatine. (11) S. C. Hastings, Stephen Whicher, R. P. Lowe, *T. S. Parvin*, Irad C. Day, Jacob Butler, *J. Scott Richman*, W. G. Woodward, Farwell, James Parmer, J. L. Cummins, *D. C. Cloud*.

Burlington. (14) David Rorer, Chas. Mason, H. W. Starr, W. H. Starr,

man. He was also a member of the Legislature and subsequently served as Chief Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court. He was the first member of Congress after the admission of the State. He removed to California on failing in re-election to the Supreme Court. He arrived there during the session of the constitutional convention, was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court, resigned to take the position of Attorney General, and resigned that to take the case of a priest who claimed from the Spanish government, the grant of a large tract of territory. He won the case, received an immense fee and became a millionaire. He afterwards founded and endowed the law department of the California State University, and dying left a million to his sole heir.

R. P. Lowe was Governor and afterward Chief Justice of

Jas. W. Woods, Jas. W. Grimes, M. D. Browning, Jonathan C. Hall, L. D. Stockton, Enoch W. Eastman, — Mills, J. C. Breckenridge, Cyrus Jacobs, Gen. Larned.

Ft. Madison. (10) Edward Johnston, Hugh T. Reid, *Dan'l. F. Miller*, *Geo. H. Williams*, Philip Viele, O. S. X. Peck, Thos. S. Espy, Henry Eno, Alfred Rich, L. R. Reeves.

Keokuk. (3) A. M. Blair, Sam'l. Miller, J. G. Wilkinson.

Andrew. (2) John J. Dyer, Philip Bradley.

DeWitt. (2) Wm. E. Leffingwell, *Aylett R. Cotton*.

Marion. (5) Isaac M. Preston, John David, Wm. Smythe, L. M. Strong, *Thos. J. McKean*.

Tipton. (3) John P. Cook, later moved to Davenport; S. A. Bissell, W. H. Tutbail.

Iowa City. (9) Morgan Reno, Curtis Bates, Jas. P. Carleton, Peter H. Patterson, Gilman Folsom, H. D. Downey, Eastin Morris, *W. Penn Clark*, Jas. D. Templin.

Wapello. (3) *Francis Springer*, Ed. H. Thomas, John Bird.

Washington. (1) W. R. Harrison.

Mt. Pleasant. (6) *John F. Kinney*, *Wm. Thompson*, J. B. Teas, G. W. Teas, W. H. Wallace, *John T. Morton*, removed to Nebraska.

Fairfield. (7) Cyrus Olney, Caleb Baldwin, Chas. Negus, C. W. Slagle, Geo. Acheson, Jas. Craig, T. H. Gray.

Keosauqua. (6) Augustus Hall, *Geo. G. Wright*, Jos. C. Knapp, Sam'l. Shuffleton, Sam. W. Summers, James H. Cowles.

Ottumwa. (1) *H. B. Hendershott*.

Oskaloosa. (2) M. T. Williams, M. T. Peters.

Cedar Rapids. (1) George Greene.

the Supreme Court. He was Governor at the time Kirkwood was elected to succeed him, and being very much disappointed, in order to pacify him he was nominated and elected Chief Justice. Iowa was peculiarly fortunate in the transaction as she secured for his successor the illustrious statesman who has become world renowned as the War Governor of Iowa—Samuel J. Kirkwood.

Stephen Whicher, of Muscatine, became U. S. Attorney. He was one who practiced law all his life and engaged in no other profession. He was an able and eloquent attorney, and had many peculiarities. He always spelled Muscatine with a "q," and would never use gold or steel pens, and I remember he always sought my skill to make his quill pens. At one time arguing a case in court, where the opening counsel had made a long speech, the Judge evidently having made up his mind to decide in favor of Whicher's client, said to him, "I am with you Mr. Whicher in this," and declined to hear him. Whicher, however, insisted upon making a plea, and the Judge ordered him to take his seat. Whicher went right on with his plea, and the Judge angrily called out, "Mr. Whicher I fine you ten dollars for contempt of court; Mr. Clerk, enter up the fine." Whicher stepped up to the clerk's desk, pulled out his pocket-book, laid down a ten dollar bill, and going back to his place, began again on his argument. The Judge roared out, "take your seat, sir." Whicher did not obey, and the court said, "I fine you ten dollars for contempt. Mr. Sheriff, arrest this man if he does not take his seat." Whicher did not have another ten dollars in his pocket (money was not very plenty with lawyers then), and he apologetically said, "your honor, do you know who I am?" Yes, sir, you are Stephen Whicher, District Attorney in and for the Judicial District of Iowa. Do you know who I am? "Yes, your honor, you are Judge of this court, and our acquaintance has cost me twenty dollars." Good feeling was instantly restored and the Judge said, "Mr. Clerk, remit those fines; Mr. Sheriff, adjourn court." Whicher on being afterwards asked what he meant, said the opposing at-

torney had made a long argument, and he was afraid if he said nothing his client would think the case did not need much attention and that it was so easily won he ought not to have a good fee. Another member from Muscatine was Irad C. Day, a quiet man, and afterwards a member of the Legislature.

And the last was myself.

From Burlington there was David Rorer, the best lawyer at the Iowa bar. He came to the Black Hawk Purchase in 1836, and built the first brick house in Burlington. When the brick-layers were ready to begin work, he laid with his own hands the first brick, and years after, when this house was torn down, he stood by and watched the workmen until this brick was reached, carefully removed it and cleaned off the mortar and kept it as a paper weight on his desk. I begged his daughter to give it to me that it might be placed in the Historical Society's collection, but she declined to part with it. Later, in writing a historical sketch I mentioned this house as the first brick house in Iowa. My good friend, M. M. Ham, editor of the *Dubuque Herald*, and a former regent of the University, said in his paper that a brick house had been built in Dubuque a year earlier. When I was in Dubuque I went to see the house, and there on the lintel over the door was the date, plainly, one year later. I went to Mr. Ham's office and took him to see the house, pointed out the date, and he gave it up.

James W. Grimes was the brainiest man Iowa has produced, one whose public services in behalf of the State have not been excelled. He was an able man, as Governor, legislator, and in the United States Senate. Aside from politics, he engaged only in the profession of law.

I remember particularly the Starrs. There were two of that name, both from Connecticut, and both named William Henry. To avoid confusion and mistake, one changed his name to Henry W., and he was the best known. In his day he was one of the ablest lawyers in Iowa, and has not been surpassed since. He was a most eloquent man and an effective

speaker. He never held any office, practicing his profession throughout his career. He had one serious fault as a man that has impaired the usefulness of so many; he was too fond of liquor. I very well recall when we were, with others, delegates to a river and harbor convention at St. Louis, and Henry W. Starr was selected as the speaker of the Iowa delegation, on my nomination. The chairman of the convention came to me and said, "do you know your man is drunk? You must get a substitute." I said "no, we have no one we can substitute." "It will never do to let that man come on the platform; why he can't stand up." "Wait and see; he'll be all right," I said, "and he will give you a good speech." When the time came for him to go on the stage, he was in such a condition that a friend and myself had to stand one on each side of him and actually hold him up, until he said, when he got on his feet, "there, that'll do, I can stand alone." When it was over, the chairman came to me, and said, "heavens, Parvin, if that man can talk that way when he is drunk, what can he do when sober?" He was most ready before a jury and court, and was widely known throughout the state as an eloquent advocate.

For the benefit of these young gentlemen from the law department, let me say, we had no code at that time, but practiced under the common law, which required special study and training. I remember that after the code of 1851 had gone into effect, I was called upon one day by a farmer to draw a deed. Of course I did it in a few moments and handed it over. The man looked at it and said, "how much?" "One dollar," I replied. "I won't give you a cent for it," he said. "I want a deed that will hold." "Where are you from, my friend?" I asked, and when he answered "Virginia," I knew what he wanted. "Come back to-morrow and I will have it ready." I drew up a deed in common law form that covered four or five pages, and when he saw it with all its long array of words, he was satisfied and had no objection to paying five dollars for it. Our code now precludes all errors, giving just

as good and thorough transfer in a few lines, with a vast saving of time and expense, insuring even greater certainty.

Wm. H. Starr, his associate, was for a time District Attorney. He was a quiet, good, christian gentleman, of retired habits, who attained no special distinction.

James W. Woods, known everywhere under the title, "Old Timber," had a wide acquaintance, and almost as many anecdotes are recalled of him as of Judge Williams. He was past eighty years of age when he died.

M. D. Browning, was one of the prominent men of the time. He was a very able advocate at the bar and became a State Senator.

William H. Wallace, the first Speaker of the House of Representatives afterwards became in succession the first territorial Governor of Washington Territory and of Idaho Territory, and was also a delegate in Congress from both.

From Mt. Pleasant were George W. and J. B. Teas. Both had been Methodist ministers before becoming lawyers, and they returned to the church later. I recall one Teas' "fall from grace" when in a speech from a store-box, he declared, "be it known from shore to shore that I am a Methodist no more." But when he repented and again entered on the work of preaching he began, "be it known from shore to shore that I'm a Methodist forever more."

Philip Viele, of New York, and Alfred Rich, of Kentucky. Viele had a defective gland in one of his eyes and could not talk without shedding tears. This sometimes quite effectively deceived the jury, who supposed that his earnest sympathy for his client was the cause. Alfred Rich was a poor man and poorly clad. When he came to Ft. Madison, finding nothing else to do, he opened a school. Some difficulty arose, requiring settlement in court and one of the parties sent to Burlington, engaging every lawyer in that city, leaving no attorney for the opposing party, who was a poor man. Before the day of the trial it was learned that the school-master was a lawyer, though he said he had only read law and had not practiced.

He dismissed school, went to the court room, and won his case against all the Burlington bar. You may be sure he had no lack of clients from that time on. He established a reputation as an excellent attorney and was elected a member of the Legislature.

This list includes all the attorneys before July, 1838. By 1846 the number was largely increased. My memory of these early events is very clear and I cannot be in doubt. I was well acquainted with them, we were constantly thrown together, and frequently made long trips together. I had in my district eight counties, and was often out from home eight weeks at a time, — unless I could get one of my associates to take my place; for I fell in love, as young men will, and sometimes went to see the lady who afterwards became my wife.

I was District Attorney, and in that position frequently represented the United States Attorney. It was with Judge Williams holding court that I first came to Johnson county. I had traveled over the section previously with an Indian guide, so that it was not altogether new to me. The Indians had just been removed to near Marengo. All about here was open country, and the only building, the old trading house, south of the city, was taken for a court room. It had no windows, and the only way to light the room was to leave the door open. We organized the county and held the first term of court, and occasionally some lookers-on would stand in the door-way obstructing the light, and the court would order it cleared. A man had committed an offense, and I had him indicted; of course there was no room in the old trading house for the grand jury to deliberate, and in preparing the indictment we went out on the prairie, a distance from the trading house, where as I remember I stood on a log and addressed the grand jury. Not one of the sixteen members of that grand jury; not one of the twelve members of the petit jury (embracing together over one-half the adult male population of the new county) — not one is now living. Here I am, alone. Of the officers of the court, members of the bar, litigants, wit-

nesses—not one is left—all have gone the way the living must go! It makes one feel sad to stand here as I do, and think that so many with whom he was in close relation have died, and that he alone survives.

At that term of court there was present a young man, son of a Judge in the State of Pennsylvania, who was a friend of Judge Williams. He went back home and made public a story, not strictly true, but that had wide circulation. After telling of the court house and the proceedings of the first day he said that upon the adjournment of court there was a dance, at which the Judge occupying the same seat as in court, played the fiddle and called off for the dancers; and this he gave as a picture of life in Iowa, and showing the character of the people. But it was not true. While the Judge did play the fiddle, and as I said some time ago, he was an excellent violinist, it was before the dance. He did not play for the dancers, but handed the fiddle over to the man who had been engaged for that purpose. The story went the rounds and the Judge never outlived it. Even in that early time we learned that a lie would travel faster and last longer than the truth.

When Judge Williams was holding court in Muscatine some unruly people in the audience kept up a disturbance, greatly annoying the court and lawyers. As the Judge and I were going to our hotel after adjournment, we met a man who looked like the typical bully of the State, over six feet high and of great frame. He stopped us, and said to my friend, "Judge, you didn't have very good order in court to-day." There was no way of denying that. Then he went on: "Appoint me bailiff, and I'll see that you have order, if I have to kill a man." The Judge did not care to have any controversy on the street—so said "I'll see about it." I said to the Judge, "appoint him, perhaps he can really keep order, and at any rate we will not be any worse off than we are now." So the next morning, when court opened, the Judge said, "I appoint J. L. (I don't give his name, because he has children in this State, who hold honored positions and I would not wound

their feelings) bailiff of this court, and he will preserve order." Just as soon as he was sworn in, he stepped out in front of the Judge and called out, "gentlemen, you will keep order; I have been appointed to see that you do, and if you don't I will throw the first man that makes a disturbance out of the window." Court was held in the second story of the building, and there was not a man present but knew the bailiff was strong enough to make his word good. As a result, no Judge ever presided over a court in which he had better order.

At another term of court, when I went out to meet the grand jury, I found them by no means as "sober as a judge." in fact they were unmistakably drunk. I saw there was no use of trying to do anything and told the Judge the jury was drunk. He called the jury in, reprimanded them and told them to come back sober, or he would put them in prison. The jury came back next morning, perfectly sober and retired for deliberation. It was twenty years afterwards that I heard the rest of the story at a meeting of pioneers in western Iowa from a member of that jury who had been sheriff of his county and a member of the Legislature. He told me that when the jury got together they appointed the foreman to send out and get a switch and when "that boy" (meaning me) came into the room to give him a switching. It was then my informant, who had said nothing, rose and remarked, "the first man that lays hands on that young man is a dead man!" There was no more talk of "switching" the prosecuting attorney.

There were some strange events in early practice in the State, as you will see. Iowa was largely made during the territorial years. The basis of legislation and the legal system of the State were founded in that beginning period and the pioneer lawyers had a great hand in the work. The attorneys of Iowa, during this territorial period, engaged in the various official positions that brought them prominently before the country.

Some very important cases were tried in the early courts, affecting great and vital interests. Among these was one in-

volving titles to the entire city of Dubuque, which was determined by the United States District Court at the period of my clerkship. Julien Dubuque had devised his property to Pierre Choteau of St. Louis, but the claim was not asserted until Iowa had been admitted as a State when suit was brought. The case was taken to the United States Supreme Court and then decided.

In speaking of Dubuque, I am reminded of an incident of Platt Smith, who afterwards filled a large place in Iowa affairs. In 1841 (I was not yet married) hearing a raft had come down and having a lot in Muscatine, I decided on buying the lumber to build, with a view to an event that would make a home of my own desirable. I went down and bought "a crib," and told the proprietor to come up to the hotel where I was boarding and I would pay for it. He sent a bright young man for the money, and it being dinner time I invited him to dine with me, and had a conversation with him in which he told me that during the winter, while cutting logs, he had read some lawbooks at night, lying on the floor in front of the fireplace. He came to Dubuque and sought admission to the bar. He was in his old clothes as a raftsman, knew no one in the town, and the Judge not prepossessed in his favor, refused to even appoint a committee to examine him. He was greatly discouraged but went back to the raft and came on down the river, more determined than ever to be a lawyer. I was struck by his frank and candid manner and at once proposed that he stay in my office and read law. He told me he had no money and I agreed to pay his board, looking to him for repayment when he was able. He remained in my office, passed a very good examination and was admitted to the bar. I offered him a partnership for which he thanked me, but said he would go to Dubuque, and as he had very little money he might have to walk, would present his certificate in court and tell the Judge that he had come back to practice where examination had been refused him. This he did, and he became one of the most eminent lawyers of Dubuque. The example

of this young craftsman, Platt Smith, is worthy the emulation of all young men of the State University Law Department.

Last week I attended the annual reunion of the Pioneer Law-Makers' Association of Iowa, at Des Moines. While I was the senior member, there was with me one older in years

Daniel F. Miller, of Keokuk, who was in the Legislature this year—fifty-four years after his first term. I was Secretary of the Senate in 1840, and recall one incident he told me then of his first election. Coming to Keokuk by boat, the passengers had to get off and walk around the rapids, about two miles, while the boat lightened of its load, was able to make its way up the stream. On the way they stopped at a cabin to warm, and saw an old gentleman lying on the floor in front of the fire, and learned he was one of three Mormons who had escaped from a mob in Missouri, that sought to drive the Mormons out of the State, and that he was yet suffering on account of the trouble he had experienced. A Missourian who was in the party, commenced a violent and abusive attack on the old man, that excited Miller's anger until he finally jumped on the bully and gave him what in these days we would call a sound thrashing. This was in the spring, and the following fall, Miller having been nominated for the Territorial Legislature, had a very close canvass before him, and was at Montrose on an electioneering tour. He met with a familiar face, but could not be certain where he had met the man; however, he made his business known, and before long each knew the other.—One was the old Mormon, the other the young lawyer. "Mr. Miller," said the old man, "you needn't give yourself any trouble about election. Go home and attend to your business. I will go over to Nauvoo and see the prophet, and he will have a revelation from the Lord, directing the Mormons to vote for you." It came out just that way. There was some kind of revelation and the Mormons all voted for Miller, who had a very satisfactory majority. "Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days." It doesn't cost much to help a fellow-being and sometimes important results come from forgotten kindnesses.

Another case that was of great importance involved a large tract of land near Montrose, ceded by the Spanish Government to one Tesson. The case was tried in the United States court and I presume the original transcripts are yet in the files. It well illustrates the old civil law practice that yet prevails in Louisiana. Tesson became indebted to the Choteaus, of St. Louis, who had a levy made on his property at Montrose; the officer of the court came up from St. Louis, and taking a shovelful of earth to represent the real estate, a bough from an apple tree in the orchard (there were still some of the old trees of this orchard remaining when I came to Iowa) to represent the improvements, and an old iron kettle to represent the personal property; he carried these to St. Louis as emblems of the property. Proclamation was made on three successive Sundays at the door of the Catholic Cathedral in St. Louis, after which the property was sold, the passing of the emblems taken transferring the ownership. Delivery was given in that way under the old civil law. The original papers are yet in the court and illustrate the only case of civil law procedure occurring in what is now Iowa. Its later and final adjudication was in the United States Supreme Court.

The famous "half breed tract" was in litigation for years, exercising the ability of eminent attorneys. In 1824 General Harrison made a treaty with the Indians by which they ceded all their lands north of the Missouri line. A large tract in the forks of the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers, known as the "half breed tract" came into the courts and caused litigation extending over years. In Muscatine county an attorney received \$1,000 as a fee in a single case for empaneling a jury and so successfully did he do his work that one man hung the jury and the case was delayed for a year. That is a sort of practice that I do not commend to you.

Another case of interest was that of the negro Grant, who came from Missouri, with his owner's consent, to earn the means to buy his freedom. He may not have been strictly

honest, or may have tired of working on such terms, but at any rate he did not turn over his wages, and his former owner came to Iowa to arrest him. Of course there was a writ of *habeas corpus*. David Rorer was the attorney for the defendant. I remember that in the trial of the case, one of the pleas was the injunction of the Mosaic code, "thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee." The court held that a slave coming to a free State, by the consent of his owner, was not a fugitive and not subject to arrest. I knew the negro very well, for he lived and died on a farm within twelve miles of Muscatine, where he was well thought of. In this case the principle was established that the free soil of Iowa makes a free man.

I will, in closing, recall briefly the prominent lawyers who took part in building up Iowa, and attained conspicuous positions.

Vice President of the U. S. (1) Breckenridge, Burlington.

Attorney General of the U. S. (1) Williams, Ft. Madison.

Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court. (1) Miller, Ft. Madison.

Judge of the U. S. District Court. (1) Dyer, Andrew.

United States Senators. (4) Grimes, Burlington; Wright, Keosauqua; Breckenridge, Burlington (from Kentucky); Williams, Ft. Madison (from Oregon).

Representatives in Congress. (10) Davis, Dubuque; Hall, Keosauqua; Cook, Davenport; Miller, Ft. Madison; Thompson, Mt. Pleasant; Thorington, Davenport; Cotton, DeWitt; Hastings, Muscatine; Leffler, Burlington; Chapman, Burlington.

Governors of States. (4) Grimes, Burlington; Lowe, Muscatine; Hempstead, Dubuque; Wallace, Mt. Pleasant (Governor of Idaho).

Lieutenant Governor. (1) Eastman, Burlington.

State Senators. (13) Hastings, Muscatine; Hempstead, Dubuque; Greene, Cedar Rapids; Parker, Davenport; Woodward, Muscatine; Browning, Burlington; Eastman, Burlington; Johnston, Ft. Madison; Bradley, Andrew; Cook, Tipton;

Springer. Wapello; Wright, Keosauqua; Bainbridge. Dubuque.

Presidents of the Senate. (4) Hastings, Muscatine; Hempstead, Dubuque; Bainbridge. Dubuque; Leffingwell, Lyons.

Speakers of the House. (5) Butler, Muscatine; Carleton. Iowa City; Wallace, Mt. Pleasant; Engle. Dubuque; Johnston. Ft. Madison.

United States District Attorneys. (8) Chapman. Burlington; Van Allen. Davenport; Weston. Davenport; Preston. Marion; Knapp. Keosauqua; Whicher, Muscatine; Deshler. Muscatine; Johnston. Ft. Madison.

State and Territorial District Attorneys. (6) Parvin, Muscatine; Lowe. Muscatine; Starr, Burlington; Reid. Ft. Madison; Olney, Fairfield; Cloud. Muscatine.

Judges of the State Supreme Court. (10) Greene. Cedar Rapids; Hastings. Muscatine; Lowe. Muscatine; Woodward. Muscatine; Hall. Burlington; Stockton. Burlington; Smythe. Marion; Kinney. Mt. Pleasant; Baldwin. Fairfield; Wright, Keosauqua.

Judges of the District Court, Territory and State. (11) Mason. Burlington; Williams. Muscatine; Wilson. Dubuque; Murdock. Dubuque; Richman. Muscatine; Leffingwell, DeWitt; McKean. Marion; Tuthill. Tipton; Carleton. Iowa City; Springer. Wapello; Olney. Fairfield.

Members of Constitutional Convention. (14) Hall, Burlington; Richman. Muscatine; Bissell. Tipton; Peck. Ft. Madison; Harrison. Iowa City; McKean. Marion; Cook. Davenport; Crawford, Dubuque; Clark. Iowa City; Lowe. Muscatine; Leffler. Burlington; Johnston. Ft. Madison; Cotton; De Witt; Chapman. Burlington.

Secretary of the Territory. (1) Conway. Davenport.

Codifiers of the Laws of Iowa. (3) Mason. Burlington; Hempstead. Dubuque; Woodward. Muscatine.

Registers of State and United States Land Office. (2) Davis, Dubuque; Parvin. Muscatine.

Colonels in the War of the Rebellion. (2) Thompson. Mt. Pleasant; Wilson. Dubuque.

Captain in Mexican War. (1) Mills, Burlington.

Of members of the bar of 1836—forty six have held National and State offices.

The list includes upwards of sixty of the one hundred and thirteen members of the bar for the first decade of Iowa history, 1836-46, one half holding national offices.

Of one hundred and fifteen, whose term of service was later than I have indicated, only seven are in practice.

I love to refer to Enoch W. Eastman, who came to Iowa at an early date and engaged in the practice of law. At the time the first Constitutional Convention was held, Congress changed the boundaries, extending the line north to the White Earth River in Minnesota, but cutting it off at a diagonal line from northeast to southwest that passed about thirty miles west of Des Moines. Eastman was very much opposed to these boundaries and in company with Captain Mills, who was afterwards killed in the Mexican war, he agreed to stump the State in opposition to the adoption of the constitution. They soon found it was too big a job, and at Eastman's request I assisted them, canvassing the first and second districts, and after all our hard work and most strenuous efforts the constitution was defeated by only about 200 votes. Only for Enoch W. Eastman, who organized and led the forces against it, the constitution would have been adopted, and the State deprived of its natural western boundary, cut off a little beyond the present capital. To no man is the State more indebted than to him. He was the author of that famous motto—"Iowa, the affections of her people, like the rivers of her borders, flow to an inseparable union." No truer sentiment of union was ever uttered than that brief sentiment. Yet this grand man has gone to his grave, is buried in a country cemetery, with only a poor stone to mark his resting place! And Iowa has left his name to pass into comparative oblivion! In speech he was very sarcastic. He was one of the early temperance reformers and was for years leader of the temperance party in Iowa legislation. One Senator took occasion time after time "to

pitch into him" in the Legislature, and Eastman made no answer until the opportune moment. The Senator was quite pompous and a large man. As he sat down after one of his thrusts at Eastman the latter said, "I never see the honorable Senator rise to speak that I am not reminded of that passage of holy writ: 'Be still and know that I am God.'"

Among them is one dear to you all, honored and credited at home and abroad. I refer to an instructor in the Law Department of the University, my old-time friend, Judge Wright, Justice of the Supreme Court and United States Senator, and in whatever position he has been placed, always filling it with distinguished credit. He is president of our Pioneer Law-Makers' Association, and the best presiding officer I ever knew. He is full of anecdotes and reminiscences and has already preceded me in the discussion of this subject.

It is regrettable that so much of the history of Iowa is confined to the memories of a few men who took part in the events, for when a few more years shall have come and a few more pioneers shall have passed away, the history of the first ten years of Iowa will have been buried. No history of those early years has been written and little now remains, save what is treasured in the recollections of men like me, whose years are almost ended.

I recognize many of the law class of the University before me. I congratulate you on the advances that have been made in the facilities for study in half a century. You are preparing for the practice of a noble profession, that will call you to defend the property and rights of your fellow citizens, even to balance the issues of life and death. You may not possess the great learning of Mason nor the brain power of Grimes, nor the eloquence of H. W. Starr, nor even the culture of Woods; but, young men, each of you may successfully emulate the example of Platt Smith, giving energy to the mastering of difficulties and by efficiency crowning yourselves with success, and then the officers and professors of this institution and the citizens of Iowa will rejoice with you.

THE EARLY CLERGY OF IOWA.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.



THE following pages are given as nearly as possible in the words of those who have so kindly aided the compiler. Extensive correspondence has been supplemented by the examination of libraries both west and east.

Most of those to whom application has been made for information, have very promptly responded. A few have made no reply.

The work is by no means complete. Errors will be discovered and the compiler will be very grateful for their correction. The early clergy were too busy in *making history* to devote much time to recording their deeds. Each denomination should put upon record its earliest efforts in the "making of Iowa." Many of the statements contained in this compilation will be found in print for the first time. It is hoped that they may be verified and thus become an accurate history of church movements in territorial days. Participants have in great measure entered upon their reward. Their immediate successors are few who survive. The present clergy of the State are strangers to the toil and sacrifices which accompanied the lives of men and women who prepared the field for their cultivation.

COMPILER.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THE following statement is by Rev. Father John F. Kemper, of Adair, Iowa, author of History of Roman Catholic Church in Iowa.

Since the time of Father Marquette and of Father Hennepin, it is not definitely known that any one of their number set foot within the present limits of Iowa until about the year 1828. From that year, until 1832, Fathers J. A. Lutz, C. F. VanQuickenborne and St. V. Badin, made several visits in this region. However, the accounts of these are very meagre, nor did they find much opportunity of exercising their apostolical zeal, since the settlements were very insignificant, and scattered at long intervals along the banks of the river. Rev. St. V. Badin was the first priest ordained in the United States. Rev. J. A. Lutz was a very zealous and amiable young German priest, of the diocese of St. Louis. Although it is known of him that he made repeated visits along the river, the only account that can be found of these is the mention of a protracted visit in 1831 to the people of Prairie du Chien.

Rev. C. F. VanQuickenborne was a zealous and most exemplary Jesuit priest of the province of St. Louis, and of him it is said that he held divine service in the lead mines of Dubuque about the year 1832.

The Very Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli was sent as missionary priest to the northwest, with stations at Mackinaw Island, Green Bay, Fort Winnebago, Prairie du Chien, and amongst the many fruits of his pious labors he counted the conversion and baptism of nearly fifteen hundred Indians in this region from the time of his arrival until 1835.

Rev. J. McMahon in the autumn of 1832, took up his residence at Galena, Illinois. Under his charge came the lead mines of Dubuque, where he is said to have held divine service in 1833. On the 19th of June, 1833, he fell a victim to the cholera scourge.

In the early part of 1834, Rev. C. J. Fitzmaurice came as the duly authorized pastor, dividing his time between Galena

and Dubuque, alternating with divine service on Sundays, taking up his residence part of the time in Dubuque. He entered claims for church grounds, obtained a subscription for one thousand one hundred dollars, had the boards and timber engaged, and the contract for building given out to a carpenter, when he was snatched away by the dire scourge and all the building arrangements were abandoned. In the same year Dubuque witnessed the construction of a church by another denomination.¹ In the early summer of 1835, the Very Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli succeeded to the pastorate and at once commenced the construction of churches, both in Galena and Dubuque, extending his missionary visits also to many other places of the vicinity. Among other places he visited Davenport as early as 1835, commenced the building of a church there in 1837, and completed the same in 1838. The blessing of this last named church took place on the 23d of May, 1839, by Bishop Loras.

The first priest who extended his visits to the southern part of the state was Rev. P. P. Lefevre. He came in 1834, founded two or three little missions in the "Black Hawk Purchase," and made occasional visits until 1837. In that year Father August Brickwade, of Quincy, received charge of the Iowa district then known as the "Wisconsin Territory" and for several years visited the people of Fort Madison, West Point, and Sugar Creek.

The first church in Lee county was built of logs by the early settlers at Sugar Creek in the summer of 1838.

The Dubuque, Davenport, and Sugar Creek churches were the only edifices of worship for the Catholics in Iowa upon the arrival of Bishop Loras on April 19th, 1839, excepting an Indian chapel at Council Bluffs. At the close of the month of May, 1838, Fathers Verreydt and DeSmet, Jesuit missionaries, took up their quarters at Council Bluffs, where they were solemnly received by a number of the Indians and their chiefs. A deserted government fort was at once converted

¹ Methodist Episcopal, see page 101.

into a chapel, and several other log cabins were built in the neighborhood as a residence for the good fathers and a school for the Indian neophytes.¹

The diocese of Dubuque, comprising Iowa Territory, was erected July 28th, 1837, by Pope Gregory XVI. Very Rev. Mathias Loras, Vicar General of Mobile, Alabama, was appointed the first bishop; and he was consecrated at Mobile December 10th, 1837, by Rt. Rev. N. Portier, assisted by Rt. Rev. A. Blanc.

Father Mazzuchelli met the Bishop at St. Louis, accompanied by Rev. Joseph Cretin and Rev. J. T. M. Pelamourgues, and taking the first boat, they arrived at Dubuque April 19th, 1839. The Bishop also had obtained four ecclesiastical students, namely, Peter J. Causse, Remigius Petiot, Augustin Ravoux and Lucien Galtier. Rev. Remigius Petiot was ordained in the autumn of 1839, and the other three gentlemen were ordained priests on January 5th, 1840; and, with the exception of the Jesuit priests at Council Bluffs, the paragraph shows the entire number of Catholic clergy in January, 1840, having charge of Iowa Territory, including the present Minnesota and part of Wisconsin.

Bishop Loras took charge of the cathedral in Dubuque, engaged in actual missionary work wherever he was, made frequent visitations throughout his vast jurisdiction, encouraged the churches which had been established, and used all his charitable influence in founding new churches. He also had a keen interest for the conversion of the Indians, whom he estimated to number thirty thousand in his diocese and even as early as 1841 appointed missionaries to give them special care; to-wit: Father Pelamourgues, for all those in the southern part of the diocese; Father Cretin, for those in the north of present Iowa; Father Ravoux for those at Ft. Snelling and in west

¹The year 1839 seems to have been a year of church establishment among the various Protestant bodies, as well as of increased activity in the Roman Catholic church, under the inspiration of their first bishop in Iowa, Bishop Loras.

Iowa; and Father Galtier in the regions from Ft. Snelling to Dubuque and to the eastward.

Father Ravoux continued active in this duty, acquiring the Sioux language and securing some converts. He also attended to the Catholics in his missions, some years being the only priest amongst them.

Rev. L. Galtier was stationed at Ft. Snelling in 1841. He built a log church, at the present site of St. Paul, Minnesota, dedicated it in honor of St. Paul, and from this originates that city's name. In 1844, Father Galtier built a log church in Keokuk, continued there about one month; then returned to Dubuque and from there was appointed pastor of Prairie du Chien.

On May 23d, 1839, Bishop Loras dedicated St. Anthony's church in Davenport, and in the autumn appointed Rev. J. A. M. Pelamourgues as pastor, who opened a school the same year; and who, in addition to Davenport, frequently had charge of Rock Island, Illinois, Iowa City, Muscatine, and also made occasional visits to Burlington and smaller stations.

Father Petiot was appointed to Galena and Illinois, which remained the sphere of his activity.

Father Mazzuchelli built St. Paul's church in Burlington, in 1840; St. Mary's church in Iowa City, in 1842, and until 1843 was pastor of this section, doing frequent missionary work in Iowa City, Burlington, Muscatine (called Bloomington in its early days), Old Man's Creek, Maquoketa, and missions in Illinois.

In 1842, Bishop Loras had two churches joined and framed of lumber at Prairie du Chien, and rafting them down stream, he donated one to Muscatine, St. Mathias' church; the other to Bellevue, where he purchased two lots when the town was laid out.

Very Rev. J. Cretin was appointed Vicar General, was much engaged in the cathedral, had the principal direction of a higher school established at Dubuque, where he was frequently one of the professors, and also attended several mis-

sions in his territory, including Garnavillo, Guttenberg, New Vienna, and Ft. Atkinson, where churches were built.

In 1841, Rev. J. C. Perrodin arrived, and was appointed pastor of the Maquoketa church, situated in Jackson County; also attending Bellevue and other stations.

In 1840, Rev. J. G. Alleman came here from the Dominican priests in Ohio, and built a brick church in Ft. Madison, about sixteen by sixteen feet in dimensions. He built a larger church in 1844, and throughout the territorial days of Iowa, attended Ft. Madison, where he also occasionally conducted a school and aided in introducing apple trees and orchards; West Point, where he built a church in 1842, sometimes residing here for months; Keokuk, where he made visits at stated times; also attending such stations as Sugar Creek, Primrose and Farmington. Quite often he did missionary duties in Burlington, and he made visits to Dubuque and other points on the river.

In 1843, Rev. John Healey was appointed pastor of Burlington, and later resided with the Bishop at Dubuque, and as pastor at Bellevue.

In 1843, Rev. A. Godfert was appointed to Iowa City and from there also made visits to Muscatine, Burlington, Old Man's Creek and Washington county.

In Washington county, Richmond and St. Vincent's were organized congregations at the close of this period, and were under the charge of Iowa City.

Rev. James Causse was engaged a part of the time at Dubuque, but later resided chiefly at Potosi, Wisconsin.

In 1846, Rev. Henry Herzog was pastor in Burlington.

In 1843, Rev. T. J. Donaghoe came to the diocese and was active in Dubuque, also having charge of motherhouse of the Sisters of Charity, and of the church of Holy Cross on Turkey River, in Dubuque county.

All these clergymen were very assiduous and diligent in their sacred trust in directing the spiritual welfare of the people, and promoting the prosperity of the many scattered

congregations and encouraging new colonizations. They also did what was possible for instruction and education. We find a school in Dubuque and in Davenport, in 1839. The three-story brick house which the Bishop built there in that year, was intended to give rooms for a higher school and seminary. In 1840, Bishop Loras contemplated introducing Sisters of Charity for the schools; but failing he prevailed upon the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in 1843, to remove their educational establishment from Philadelphia to Dubuque, who arrived the same year under the guidance of Mother Francis Clarke and immediately established schools in their new home. Thus 1846 finds us with an academy for boys at Dubuque, having an attendance of sixty, and taught by the priests of the cathedral. At the same time Mother Francis Clarke had in her community thirteen Sisters and seven novices, their academy being attended by at least sixty pupils.

The Indian mission at Council Bluffs took possession of log barracks which had been abandoned by the soldiers, and converted it into a church; they also built a log house for their residence and another for a school to educate the Indians (the Pottawattamies.) The names of these Jesuit Fathers were Rev. Felix Verreydt, and Rev. P. DeSmet, and with them was a lay brother. Rev. Christian Hoeken also was on duty here from time to time. On August 15th, 1838, they had the first high mass, at which the Indians chanted the mass-songs in Latin. Although the missionaries had nearly all these Indians under instruction they baptized only about one hundred the first year. In 1841, Father Hoeken baptized fully four hundred. With the removal of the Pottawattamies to Kansas, this Indian mission was discontinued.

Bishop Loras was given by these Indians a donation of forty acres (not far from the present St. Peter and Paul Church in Council Bluffs); but he never could get all the Chiefs together at the same time for the necessary signature.

These few pages show an interesting life of the Catholic faith in pioneer and territorial Iowa, although many beautiful features of missionary life could not be portrayed here.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE compiler is indebted to Dr. W. F. King, President of Cornell College, for the use of documents which contain full reports of early Methodism in Iowa. Most of the facts presented are taken from these documents, to-wit: Proceedings of the Iowa Methodist State Conventions of 1871 and 1881. The reports were made by Revs. Dr. Golliday, Dr. Keeler, E. H. Waring at the convention of 1871. and by Rev. E. H. Waring at the convention of 1881.

At the opening of the Black Hawk Purchase to settlement in 1833, waiting claimants rushed across the Mississippi. Among them were the ever alert Methodists, who acted under the inspiration of the father of Methodism in Illinois, Rev. Peter Cartwright and of his energetic co-worker, Rev. John T. Mitchell. At the session of the Illinois Conference, September 25th, 1833, Rev. Barton Randle (Randal) and Rev. John Mitchell were appointed to the Galena and Dubuque mission. Rev. John Sinclair as presiding elder, watched over the field extending from Chicago to Dubuque westward, and to Peoria southward. Mr. Sinclair visited Galena, but he did not extend his visit to Dubuque that year.

On account of the difficulties attending the crossing of the Mississippi River, Rev. Barton Randle (Randal) assumed charge of the Dubuque part of the mission, leaving Mr. Mitchell at Galena. On Saturday, November 6th, 1833, Mr. Randle (Randal) preached the first Methodist sermon in Iowa, at the tavern of Jesse M. Harrison, on the site of the present Julien House. Mr. Randle (Randal) finding his stay at the tavern unpleasant, sought "a more quiet place to read, think, pray, write, sleep, and eat; and also chose an upper room in a large unfurnished ware-house for a preaching place." He fitted up a shanty for his house where he could enjoy his own "boughtenfeed." He soon established preaching stations in

the country about Dubuque. At Peru, four miles above Dubuque, he preached in a billiard hall which was prepared as explained by a witness: "The table was shoved to the wall, the trapezium neatly covered by a cloth, the balls rolled into the sockets, and the mace rods carefully concealed. The people gathered in to see and to hear what the preacher would do in the billiard room." The table resembled a coffin and Mr. Randle (Randal) preached the funeral sermon of the place, and had the satisfaction to learn "that the devil never returned to remove his traps." The place was sold and the proceeds applied to religious uses. Early in the spring of 1834, moved thereto by "friendly sinners," he began the erection of a house of worship, the first of its kind in the territory now known as the State of Iowa. We are able to present a fac simile of the subscription paper. June 23rd, 1834, work was begun; July 25th, Mr. Johnston, one of the trustees, records the fact, "raised the meeting-house with a few hands and without spirits of any kind." The church was finished within four weeks of its commencement. Mr. Randle (Randal) with pardonable pride exclaimed, "well done, to collect money, build a splendid log meeting-house, and pay for it, hold a two days' meeting and receive twelve members, all in four weeks. O! it was the Lord's doing; let Him have the glory. Amen." Mr. Randle (Randal) preached his last sermon in Dubuque, August 10th, 1834, having received for his year's labor, one hundred dollars, ten of which was the donation of a gambler of the town. He remained in the active ministry till 1845, when injured by a stroke of lightning, he was laid aside from preaching, but was living in 1881, an honored superannuated member of the Illinois Conference.

Turning now southward, we find the first settlers at Flint Hills, now Burlington, in 1832, but no permanent settlement till May, 1833. Dr. Ross, a zealous Methodist among the first settlers, applied to the Rev. Peter Cartwright in the spring of 1834, to furnish them a preacher.

Barton H. Cartwright, a native of Auburn, New York, who

"Subscription for a Chapel for the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the Town of Dubuque.
 A Plan of the house. - It to be built of hewn logs; 20 by 26 feet in the clear; one story, 10 feet high; lower & upper floors; shingled roof; painted with lime & sand, one batten door; 4, 20 light & one 12 light windows - cost estimated for completing in good plain style \$955.00. The above house is built for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church - but when not occupied by said Church, shall be open for Divine service by other Christian Denominations; and may be used for a common school, at the discretion of the Trustees. Woodbury Massey, John Johnson, Wm. Kelley Marcus Atchison, and Orrin Smith are the board of trustees, who are authorized to receive subscriptions and control the interests of said house, for the use above mentioned.

We, the undersigned agree to pay to the above Trustees the several sums annexed to our names, for the building of said house."

Subscriber's Name.	\$	cts.	Subscriber's Name.	\$	cts.
Woodbury Massey pd	25	00	George Smith	5	00
John Johnson	10	00	John P. Cobb	5	00
William Kelley pd	10	00	Abel H. Prentiss	5	00
Mr. L. Atchison pd	15	00	Wm. L. Deane	5	00
Warner Lovell	5	00	John L. Linn	5	00
O. L. Linn	10	00	Lincoln Clark	5	00
W. H. Thompson	5	00	Robt. Waller	5	00

The accompanying fac simile plates are from the original paper preserved in the State Historical Society's Collection. It is written on both sides, and while the ink has faded in some degree, it is yet quite plain. The reproduction here given is about one-fourth the size of the original paper.

Subscribers Names	\$	cts.	Subscribers Names	\$	cts.
pt. C. Smith	5	00	Samuel Kean	2	00
fr Becken & Hicks	5	00	Thos. Lincolnton	1	00
Higham Morgan	2	00	David Stanton	1	00
Thos. Child	5	00	L. C. Langguth	1	00
H. S. Camp	10	cts.	L. C. Jackson	1	00
Jacob Gower	3	00	J. B. Webber	1	00
William Dudley	2	00	Wm. Martin	1	00
Geo. J. Booth	3	00	Joseph J. Young	1	00
Abraham Wilson	5	00	Joseph Richardson	1	00
Rosalph Sandlin	5	00	Samuel Smith	1	00
Hardin Stowlen	5	00	Wm. A. Dutchman	1	00
Pa. Fanning	5	00	Duplessy	2	00
John Regan	5	00	Wm. C. O'Brien	1	00
Philip Gault	5	00	J. D. Greene	1	00
H. Gaskler	5	00	Henry Parker	1	00
Thos. W. Braden	5	00	George H. H. H.	1	00
Wm. H. H.	2	00	John Lockman	3	00
Charles Miller	1	00	L. Whaley	5	00
E. Price Jun.	1	00	Patrick Omon	2	00
Uncle Tom	6	00	Thos. Gilbert	1	00
Caroline Brady	0	12	Pa. M. Larkin	1	00
L. Everest	5	00	Pa. C. W. Larkin	2	00
John Wharton	1	00	Pa. C. W. Larkin	2	00
Wm. Baker	2	00	Pa. C. W. Larkin	2	00
Sam. Webb	2	00	Pa. C. W. Larkin	2	00
George Peacock	5	00	Pa. C. W. Larkin	2	00
J. Duval	5	00	Pa. C. W. Larkin	2	00
Wm. Doggett	5	00	Pa. C. W. Larkin	2	00

had previously received from Mr. Randle (Randal) "a license to exhort," crossed the river to Flint Hills and received frequent calls to exhort. "I went about," he says, "breaking prairie and talking to the people—they called it preaching."

March 22nd. 1834, Peter Cartwright handed him a license to preach, in accordance with a vote of the Quarterly Conference of the Henderson (Illinois) River Mission. Desiring to be independent, he refused to receive any pay for his ministerial work. And so he started with four yoke of oxen, a breaking-plow and a load of provender. He broke prairie for the settlers by day, and preached by night. When he was in need of money, he "carried wood on the steamboats." He took no collection at his services and received no pay for preaching. He soon gathered a band of the faithful about him with W. R. Ross, a class-leader, whose log cabin of one room standing on North Hill, served as kitchen, parlor, chamber, and meeting-house. The young missionary is described as "dressed in plain linen pants, home-made cotton vest, common shoes without socks, with no coat and a common chip hat." By another it is said "his head was large, his breast broad and shoulders heavy; his mouth was plentifully wide—his lungs capable of the highest degree of intonation—he could make bass enough for the whole congregation and sustain a prayer meeting to the end without fear, favor or affectation, and he was as honest as old Abe Lincoln himself."

The celebrated Peter Cartwright visited Burlington late in 1834 and preached to the people, standing upon a bent sapling and using as a desk, a board resting at one end upon a stake driven into the ground beside the sapling and at the other end upon the top of the sapling which had grown erect at a little distance from the root beside the tree which had fallen upon and bent the sapling.

The Missouri Conference, as Peter Cartwright expressed it, "jumped his claim"¹ and Rev. J. M. Jamison on the Palmyra

¹ The claim of Mr. Cartwright of the Illinois Conference is disputed by Mr. Jamison of the Missouri Conference, who claims to have been the first preacher at Burlington.

circuit extended his work fifty miles up the Des Moines, and during the spring of 1834, preached upon the "Half Breed Tract." In the fall of that year, October, 1834, Rev. Learner B. Stateler was assigned to the Canton (Missouri) circuit, with instructions to attach thereto all the societies on the "Blackhawk Purchase." His work extended to Yellow Springs, Mt. Pleasant, Keosauqua, Ft. Madison and Montrose. His circuit required travel of three hundred and fifty to four hundred miles, over untracked prairies and unbridged streams.

Rev. B. H. Cartwright organized several societies in the neighborhood of Burlington.

The histories of the "Dubuque Missions" and of the Burlington Circuit run in nearly parallel lines from the last date above written, till the year 1839.

October 1st, 1834, Rev. N. S. Bastion succeeded Rev. Barton Randle (Randal) at Dubuque—and he was succeeded by Rev. H. W. Reed, October 1st, 1835.

The first quarterly meeting in Iowa was held at Burlington May 30th, 1835. Rev. Andrew Monroe acted as Presiding Elder from the St. Louis District.

The second quarterly meeting was held at Dubuque, November 14th, 1835, Rev. Alfred Brunson from the Wisconsin side of the river acting as Presiding Elder.

At the session of the Missouri Conference in the fall of 1835, the work in Iowa appeared so unpromising that the Bishop called for volunteers. John H. Ruble, an east Tennessean by birth, ventured "to carry the free gospel to the poor and scattered settlers of Iowa." With Mr. Ruble, John W. Dole was also appointed to Burlington but Mr. Dole does not seem to have accepted the appointment and Mr. Ruble, a single man, established himself at Mt. Pleasant. Fully convinced that it was not good for a Methodist minister to lead a single life he married Miss Diana Bowen February, 1836, who in two months later was left a widow. Mr. Ruble, combined the qualities of intellectual strength, zeal and piety. With his death a happy change came to Methodism in Iowa by the transfer

under authority of the General Conference, May, 1836, of the Iowa churches from the Missouri Conference to the Illinois Conference. In the few months between the death of Mr. Ruble and the session of the Illinois Conference, Rev. West and Rev. Daniel G. Cartwright, who had preached as early as June, 1833, at Rochester, Cedar county, supplied the churches of Burlington circuit. In the fall of 1836, Rev. Norris Hobart was sent to Burlington. A new circuit was organized north and northwest of Burlington, called the Iowa River Mission and Rev. Daniel G. Cartwright was appointed as missionary.

Before the organization of the Iowa River Mission, churches seem to have been planted at Rockingham, four miles from Davenport, and at Maquoketa—to the former of which Rev. Chauncey Hobart was assigned by the Illinois Conference of 1836, and to the latter, Rev. George Smith. It is not known what other churches constituted the Iowa River Mission at this time.

The poverty of the churches is apparent from the fact that the receipts of the Dubuque church from its organization to 1838, did not exceed one hundred dollars annually.

The conference of 1837, meeting at Jacksonville, Illinois, appointed to Dubuque Mission, Rev. Wellington Weighley; to Bellevue, Revs. John Crummer and John Gilliam; and to Rockingham, Rev. Norris Hobart.

Upon the Burlington circuit, in 1837, two additional charges were formed at Mt. Pleasant and at Fort Madison. "Zion Church" edifice was built this same year, and has the distinction of serving as a church, as a capitol for Wisconsin Territory and for Iowa Territory, as a court house, as a city hall, as an academy and as an amusement hall. In the appropriation bills of early legislatures, appear items for rent—so the church was helped by the State toward the payment of debts contracted in erection of its house of worship.

The summer of 1838 witnessed a larger immigration including many Methodists, and churches grew rapidly. At the

Conference of 1838 the churches of northern Iowa numbered seven hundred and forty members, and those of southern Iowa numbered five hundred and ninety-four members.

From this time we must content ourselves with naming the new preachers and the new churches.

1838.

Rev. Garrett G. Worthington, whose table expenses for the year were eighty-five dollars and sixty six cents.

Rev. William Simpson.

Rev. Henry J. Bruce (Brace).

1839.

Bishop Morris organized the "Iowa District" in spite of protests and united in this district the two circuits heretofore existing.

Rev. H. Summers was made Presiding Elder, and William H. Taylor, Joel Arrington, M. H. McMurtrie, James F. Flanders, Thomas W. Pope, I. I. Stewart, Jesse Herbert and Joseph L. Kirkpatrick are added to the list of the clergy.

Fox River, Manchester and Richland are names of new stations.

Rev. T. M. Kirkpatrick reports being present at a quarterly meeting of the Rockingham circuit where Rev. B. H. Cartwright and Rev. Henry J. Bruce (Brace) were the preachers, both married men. The total quarterage reported was a silver dime, which the three found it difficult to divide equitably. Rev. Henry J. Bruce (Brace) was compelled to borrow a coat in which to make himself presentable at Conference in 1840.

1840.

The Illinois Conference was divided into three Conferences—Wisconsin, Rock River and Illinois Conferences. The Iowa churches came under control of the Rock River Conference and so continued until the organization of the Iowa Conference in 1844.

Bartholomew Weed as Presiding Elder and Revs. Chester Campbell, John Hodges, Philander S. Richardson, Henry Hubbard and Washington Wilcox appear as new clergy.

Space will not permit the continuation of the names of new clergy and of new stations, as Methodist churches grew very rapidly.

One name among the clergy who came to the State during the year 1840, deserves more than a passing mention.—Rev. Samuel Clark, to whom a worthy tribute is paid by his son, in the July *Annals of Iowa*. At Xenia, Ohio, during the Harrison campaign, a prominent opponent to the Whig party rose and stalked out of the house, when he noticed Mr. Clark take his place to preach. Mr. Clark at once announced his text “The wicked flee when no man pursueth” before the gentleman was out of hearing. It was not the text he had chosen for the day, but his sermon is spoken of as one of the most forcible sermons ever preached in Ohio.

Another instance of his readiness to meet emergencies is related by Judge Wright as occurring at a camp-meeting near Keosauqua, in 1842. A disciple of Abner Kneeland gave him a text as he entered the pulpit—“The unknown God whom ye ignorantly worship.” “I have never heard,” continues Judge Wright, “nor did any one that heard it, ever hear the equal in power and greatness, and massiveness of argumentation of the sermon Mr. Clark then preached.”

He died in 1858.

The first religious service held in Iowa City was in the fall of 1839, conducted by Rev. J. S. Kirkpatrick. The church was organized in 1840, under Rev. G. G. Worthington and the church edifice was erected in 1842.

As the Indians removed in 1842, settlements were made up the Des Moines River, and in the spring of 1843, the Des Moines District was formed by division of the Burlington District. The missions founded were Farmington, Pittsburgh, Soap Creek, Muchakinock,¹ Des Moines, Fairfield and Birmingham.

Henry Summers was first Presiding Elder of the Des Moines District.

¹Wapello county.

At this date, 1843, the membership reached 3,626 and Iowa Territory was honored with a session of the Rock River Conference at Dubuque, August 23rd, 1843.

1844.

This was a memorable year in Iowa Methodism.

The General Conference of this year determined upon the organization of the "Iowa Conference." This was effected at Iowa City, August 14th, 1844.

The charter members were Revs. H. W. Reed, George B. Bowman, Bartholomew Weed, J. G. Whitford, Wm. Simpson, I. I. Stewart, Joseph S. Kirkpatrick, Henry Summers, T. M. Kirkpatrick, Joel Arrington, Andrew Coleman, Jesse L. Bennett, Sidney Wood, David Worthington, Isaac Searles, S. W. Ingham, and Moses F. Shinn.

Three districts, Dubuque, Burlington and Des Moines, were organized. The members of the churches numbered 5,463 at the first report of the Conference.

The question of education was prominent in this Conference. There were two rival claimants for the endorsement of the Conference. The Mt. Pleasant Collegiate Institute and the Iowa City College. The Conference lost its opportunity for building up one strong school which, in the field of higher education, should for all time represent the denomination. It was a mistake by no means peculiar to Methodists. The first named school grew into the Iowa Wesleyan University the second was merged into the Mt. Vernon Collegiate Institute and then became Cornell College. Upper Iowa University, Simpson College and Methodist University have been added to the list.

1845.

Missionary operations were started in Marion, Monroe and Lucas counties; also at Fort Des Moines and the regions beyond.

The first sermon preached in Des Moines was by Rev Ezra Rathbun, in the spring of 1846.

The German Methodist work was inaugurated by Rev. Dr.

Nast in 1835, but no distinct German mission was organized till 1844, in Keokuk County.

The records of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Iowa are complete since the organization of the Iowa Conference, in 1844, and this brief sketch must suffice.

BAPTIST CHURCH.

FOR facts herein set forth credit is due to Rev. Charles E. Brown, of St. Joseph, Missouri.

THE first Baptist Church, west of the Mississippi River, north of the State of Missouri, was organized in a little log cabin, nine miles west of the present city of Burlington, upon June 20th, 1834, one year after the completion of the first "Black Hawk Purchase." It was called the Long Creek Church and consisted of eleven members—now Danville Church. A little more than five years later the first Baptist Association, called the Des Moines Association, was organized upon a prairie lawn near the log cabin.

Early in June, 1839, Rev. Rudolphus Weston, of Carthage, Illinois, made a trip up the Mississippi River preaching as he proceeded, until he reached the place now known as LeClaire. Here he founded a church June 10th, 1839, and called it Bath Baptist Church in memory of the early New York home of its first members. Services were held for several years in a private house. The people living along the road between the houses of two prominent members knew when a meeting was to be held by seeing "Sister Palmer riding a favorite old horse and Brother Palmer walking by her side." Mr. Weston was called to the pastorate and accepted the call. A serious illness while on his way to this new field prevented his entering upon the work.

During the early spring of 1839, Rev. Calvin Greenleaf preached for two months at Davenport. He was succeeded

by Rev. Titus Gillett, who also preached at Rock Island. A church was organized September 14th, 1839 and for several months was ministered to by a young man—Oliver Emerson, of Ohio, but on account of his views regarding the Lord's Supper, he was not ordained and afterwards became a Congregational minister.

In June, 1841, Rev. Ezra Fisher, of the Baptist Home Missionary Society began his labors in Davenport and Muscatine in less than a year leaving Davenport.

August 9th, 1840, a church was organized at Dubuque by Rev. Warren B. Morey, a missionary residing at Galena, Illinois. Rev. Barton Carpenter became pastor of the church in the spring of 1841. During his pastorate of three years, the first church edifice for Baptist worship in the Territory was erected—the second soon after at Davenport.

June 26th, 1841, the church at Iowa City was organized with Rev. W. B. Morey as its first pastor. His field was extended to Marion in Linn county and to the Cedar River. Rev. Dexter P. Smith became pastor in 1845.

October 30th, 1841, Rev. E. Fisher organized a church at Bloomington (now Muscatine) and was its first pastor.

The State Baptist Association was organized at Iowa City in the month of June, 1842, when an arrangement was made for a meeting at Davenport to form an association of churches north of the Iowa River similar to the Des Moines Association in southeastern Iowa.

September 16th, 1842, the Dubuque Association was organized at Davenport in the chamber of a small frame building on Front street. The churches represented were Bath, 1839; Davenport, 1839; Dubuque, 1840; Bloomington, 1841; Iowa City, 1841; Forks of the Maquoketa, 1842.

One other church existing on the line between Jones and Delaware counties, with Rev. Ira Blanchard, as pastor, was not represented. Seven churches in all.

Rev. C. E. Brown, pastor of Maquoketa Church gives a sketch of some of the difficulties attending travel. "When

the time came to prepare to go to Davenport, our good brother Doolittle would furnish a horse, but the wagon we had for the trip to the meeting of the State Association at Iowa City, had left the settlement. The horse I could ride, but that would not fill the bill. All were anxious that Mrs. Brown should go, so I secured the loan of the hind wheels and axle-tree of a Hoosier lumber wagon, went to the fence and got poles suitable for thills, and with a board on wooden pegs, we were soon ready for the forty mile trip. We had a bundle of oats for a cushion and enjoyed the ride across the prairies and through groves unmarred by the vandalism of man.²⁷ The prototype of the common road cart of to-day.

August 31st, 1842, Rev. C. E. Brown as a missionary, organized a church at the Forks of the Maquoketa. He had come from New York in May preceding, under the pledge of a salary of one hundred dollars and whatever could be obtained upon the field. A log cabin was erected for his residence, into which he moved before doors or windows were in place. To secure stove pipe he had to ride to Dubuque, a distance of forty miles. On account of the severity of the winter 1842-3 he was compelled to go to Davenport where he remained, with the exception of a visit to his home in New York, till 1847, returning then to Maquoketa whose church he found in a comatose state.

During the summer of 1843, Mr. Brown made a missionary tour up the Mississippi. Previous to his leaving Davenport a man with a halter tied around his shoulders called upon him with the statement that he was hunting stray horses and a Baptist minister to come to Camanche and baptize himself and wife, his brother and several others who had become Christians in a revival there. His missionary tour, therefore, extended as far north as Camanche, where he organized a church late in June, 1843.

Near the same time Rev. W. B. Morey, of Iowa City, organized a church at Marion and another at Cedar River.

The good nature and quiet humor of Rev. C. E. Brown,

from whose reminiscences the above statements have been compiled, appear throughout his narration. One instance will suffice, and at the same time will confirm the impression that the clergy are not averse to the pleasures of the table. He says at the time of the organization of the Dubuque Association, the question of the time for holding its annual meetings was discussed. Two considerations presented themselves.

1. They must avoid, if possible, the sickly season. 2. They would meet if possible, at a time when vegetables were at their best and when chickens had reached the period of delicate fatness.

“But as all these, sickly times, and fat chickens, and fresh vegetables came at the same time of the year, of the two evils we concluded to take the least and have the chickens and take our chances with the ague.”

The opportunity for a feast of good things must have had a strong temptation to those who could rely upon not more than one hundred dollars in cash for a year's services.

The time for annual meetings was determined on as the Friday before the third Sunday in September—“until wise men came from the east and changed it to the great detriment of the spiritual and devotional parts of the meeting.”

As the reminiscences of Rev. C. E. Brown have their location largely upon the field of his own labors, north of the Iowa River, the compiler is compelled to gather information from other sources regarding the field south of the Iowa River within the bounds of the Des Moines Association. So far he has been unsuccessful, except with reference to the church at Keokuk which was organized February 5th, 1847. Its first pastor was Rev. J. N. Seeley. During the same year a church edifice was begun, and to secure aid in its building the pastor spent several weeks among older churches outside the State. He returned with “forty-four dollars and twenty-two cents in cash, two common stoves with eight joints of pipe, one keg of nails, a small roll of calico, and a bible and hymn book for the pulpit.”—a liberal donation for the time when the pas-

ter was only promised three hundred dollars for a year's salary provided one hundred and seventy-five dollars could be obtained from the Missionary Society of the church.

(Letters written have not been answered and the sketch is therefore imperfect.)

State Association met as follows: 1843, at Davenport; 1844, at Mt. Pleasant; 1845, at Bloomington; 1846, at Iowa City.

Churches aside from those already noted were reported at Washington. Burlington. Columbus City. Brighton and Jefferson.

Clergymen not named above appear as follows: H. Johnson, A. Sherwood, A. P. Tannyhill, and — Spainhower.

Colleges in the State under Baptist control, have been Burlington Collegiate Institute, Central University at Pella. Des Moines University at Des Moines.

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THE compiler is indebted for information regarding the Christian Church, to Rev. N. A. McConnell, of Greeley, Iowa, Rev. A. M. Haggard, of Colfax, to James Howie, Esq., of Dubuque, and to "*The Iowa Pulpit*," one article in which was prepared by Rev. J. R. Vawter, of Des Moines.

THE authorities alluded to do not agree in all points as to the early movements of the church in the Territory of Iowa.

Mr. Howie claims that the first Christian Church in Iowa was organized at the mouth of Catfish Creek, two and one-half miles from the present Dubuque postoffice, in 1834. It consisted of forty members with John Baugh as pastor.

Rev. N. A. McConnell gives the Dubuque Church organized in 1835 as the first in the Territory, with Elder Lancaster as its pastor. He says that there were other preachers who did not give their time wholly to preaching. James Brown-

lie at Long Grove, Scott county, Mordecai Mobley at Dubuque, James Rumboldt also in Scott county, Dr. John Ross, Lost Creek, Lee county. This last named gentleman is also claimed as a "zealous Methodist" and probably does not belong in this list.

Rev. Mr. Vawter claims that the first service of the Christian Church held in Iowa was at the cabin of Isaac Briggs, near Lost Creek, Lee county, in 1836, with David R. Chance as preacher and that in July of that year the Lost Creek Church was organized with a membership of eight persons. The *Christian Oracle* in giving an account of the fiftieth anniversary of the Lost Creek congregation in 1886, also gives a transcript of the record of the organization of the church at Dubuque in 1835.

Of the churches now in existence, the preponderance of testimony favors that of Dubuque as the first organized, with Elder Lancaster as the first settled pastor of the denomination.

The Lost Creek Church has the honor of erecting the first church edifice of the Christian denomination.

The Dubuque Church purchased from the Congregationalists the "Old Stone Church" about the year 1840. No information has been obtained in regard to other church edifices previous to 1846.

Church organizations had been effected after those of Dubuque and Lost Creek, at Davenport, Mt. Pleasant, Marion, Oskaloosa and Fort Madison. The list of preachers indicates also the location of churches at other points.

— — Lancaster at Dubuque, David R. Chance at Lost Creek, Peter Shook at Eddyville, Charles Rigdon at Oskaloosa, John Rigdon at Wapello, Henry Mott at Oskaloosa, S. H. Bonham at Frank Pierce, — — Thompson at Lost Creek, Arthur Miller, Levi Flemming, H. H. Hendrix, H. P. Gatchell, James Brownlie at Long Grove, Charles Levan at Davenport, Aaron Chatterton, H. C. Mott, J. W. Gill and N. A. McConnell. The list embraces known pastors previous to 1850. Of those coming before 1846, Rev. Peter Shook is the only survivor.

The first State meeting worthy of the name, was held in Marion, May 23rd—26th, 1850. At this meeting thirty-nine congregations were reported with a membership of 2,009.

The first organ of the denomination was published in 1850, at Mt. Pleasant, called "*The Western Evangelist*" and edited by Rev. Daniel Bates.

Mr. Haggard writes, "we take a little pride in the fact that we are the only one of the six or eight strongest evangelical denominations so called that is strictly American in its rise or origin."

A church was organized at Richmond, Keokuk county, 1840 (?) and a church edifice built in 1847.

Another church is reported as organized in Jackson county in 1844 by Rev. B. F. Chastain.

The denomination has taken a prominent place in educational work and maintains "Drake University" at Des Moines, and "Oskaloosa College" at Oskaloosa.

The *Christian Standard* and *The Christian Oracle* are the Iowa representatives of the Christian Church.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE brief statement following is the result of information gathered from documents in the possession of S. N. Watson, D. D., of Iowa City, and from a history of Trinity Episcopal Church of Muscatine compiled by J. P. Walton.

FROM a diary kept by Bishop Kemper¹ it appears that he passed up the Mississippi River in the summer of 1838. July 14th he writes, "I am again in a new country, and am now farther north than I have ever been since I was a Bishop. Into the new Territory of Iowa the people are rapidly flocking. I hope to be at Dubuque the 19th."

¹Rev. Jackson Kemper was sent as an evangelist from Pennsylvania to territory north of 36° 30'. He was made Bishop of Indiana and Missouri in 1836—of Wisconsin and Iowa later, and in 1853 of Wisconsin.

Under date of July 23rd. he continues, "a week ago Mr. Minard, Mr. Gear and myself went in a steamboat to Dubuque where we spent a day and I preached." This was probably the first Protestant Episcopal Church service held in Iowa.

Early in 1839, Matthew Matthews, with his son and two brothers, with their wives and children, came to Bloomington and organized the first Episcopal Church in Iowa. Mr. Walton suggests as its model the family church noted in Gen. vii. 13. Bishop Kemper visited this church September 30th, on a tour from Galena through Dubuque, where he preached September 19th and 22nd, and thence passed down the east side of the Mississippi to Stephenson (Rock Island), crossing to Davenport in a sail-boat. He preached at Stephenson and Davenport September 29th but "found no Episcopalians at either place." After stopping at Bloomington a short time he proceeded down the river to Keokuk, and St. Louis.

The following year, 1840, October 22nd, the Bishop officiated at Dubuque, and October 31st at Bloomington to the church now consisting of seven members. "November 1st administered the communion and solemnized the rite of baptism to two children of the Matthews family."

Mr. Matthews had appropriated a good lot near the public square for a church edifice, and had drawn some lumber upon the lot, but was unwilling that a missionary should be sent until the edifice was completed. The Bishop promised one hundred dollars to pay last bills in its erection.

Leaving Bloomington November 4th, Bishop Kemper visited Grandview, Harrison, Wapello, Florence, Yellow Springs (at which place he found a clergyman from Virginia, Rev. Zachariah Goldsmith cultivating a farm and preparing to open a school the next spring) and Burlington.

During the month of July, 1840, services were held at Rockingham just below Davenport, and following these a church was organized at Davenport, which became so prosperous under the rectorship of Rev. G. H. Goldsmith as to

promise during the year 1841, the sum of five hundred dollars for missionary work in Iowa.

Though steps were taken toward the erection of a church edifice at Bloomington, in 1840, it is probable that the church in Davenport was the first *completed* and *occupied* in 1841.

The first service held in the Bloomington Church before its completion, was the funeral service of Mr. Matthews, its most liberal donor, March 16th. 1842. It was conducted by the Rev. John Stocker, the Presbyterian clergyman of the place.

The history of the building of the Bloomington Episcopal Church is somewhat peculiar. The edifice "was a frame building, twenty-two by fifty feet, one and three quarter stories high, with eight side windows, each having fifteen lights of eight by ten glass, with a small vestry room about seven by nine feet in the clear. The lower story was eight feet high and had a row of square columns extending along the center aisle. The pews were made of black walnut, painted white. Walnut was the best wood to be had for them, but it was too common without having it painted." The upper story was added by the Masonic fraternity, and was occupied as a lodge room till 1854. By reason of the Masonic occupancy, Bishop Kemper refused to consecrate the building. This was the first church edifice erected in Muscatine county for any denomination and was used by the Presbyterians through courtesy of the Episcopal society. The Presbyterian bell mounted upon the vestry served the purpose of both congregations. The first sermon was preached in the church by Rev. G. H. Goldsmith, May 1st. 1842.

Bishop Kemper upon his occasional visits to the family of Mr. Matthews, took occasion to urge the founding of a college in Iowa. His labors bore fruit at a later date in the establishment of Griswold College.

The only history obtainable of territorial days is found in Bishop Kemper's diary and in Mr. Walton's history of the Muscatine Church. The clergymen whose names appear are Rev. Zachariah Goldsmith, Rev. G. W. Goldsmith, of Daven-

port, Rev. Samuel Sherwell who came to Burlington, May 12th, 1843, from New York and who was deposed from the ministry after fair trial in 1844, and Rev. James Keeler, an elderly man, who as it was thought turned over his "barrel of sermons" rather too frequently, and who was at one time presented with several quires of paper accompanied by a polite request that he would prepare some new sermons. The congregation increased somewhat as those who had given the hint desired to observe its effect. At the time of the opening of the Bloomington Church for regular services, no Bible suitable for the reading desk could be found nearer than St. Louis and the ladies of the church collected money enough to procure one.

As with churches of other denominations, there was no rapid increase in numbers until the "iron horse" crossed the Mississippi and immigrants came rapidly in its train.

The church was organized at Iowa City, 1847, by Rev. A. Louderbach, of Davenport.

It was not till August 17th, 1853, that a preliminary Convention was called to organize the diocese of Iowa. Seven churches only were represented. The clergy present were:

Rev. John Batchelder, missionary for Des Moines county,

Rev. A. Louderbach, rector at Davenport.

Rev. William Adderly, rector at Burlington.

Rev. R. D. Brooke, rector at Dubuque.

Rev. John Ufford, rector at Muscatine.

Rev. Samuel Goodale, rector at Cedar Rapids.

Rev. C. C. Townsend, missionary at Iowa City.

Ten parishes and stations were reported.

At the first annual meeting May 31st, 1854, Bishop Kemper was present. Rev. George Denison appears in addition to those named above—and the mission at Iowa City is not represented.

One hundred and fifty-seven communicants are reported from eight churches.

The organization of the diocese was not perfected until the

coming of Bishop Henry Washington Lee from the rectorship of St. Luke's Church of Rochester, New York, October 18th, 1854.

Rev. Samuel Watson came to the State with Bishop Lee and was prominent in the organization of churches in both the eastern and western parts of the State. 1857 was a fruitful year in the establishment of churches.

The organ of the denomination is *The Iowa Churchman*, published at Davenport.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

CREDIT is due Rev. J. B. McBride, of Princeton, Iowa, for information regarding some of the earliest clergy in the Territory of Iowa.

His notes have been supplemented by items taken from the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and from such private sources as were within reach.

THE first Presbyterian Church in the territory now known as Iowa, was formed at West Point, Lee county, June 24th, 1837, by Rev. Launcelot G. Bell and Rev. Samuel Wilson.

The former was a preacher in Tennessee in 1830, came to Illinois in 1837. Both were members of the Schuyler, Illinois, Presbytery.

The first Presbyterian clergyman to locate in the Territory was Rev. John Stocker, a native of Vermont, who thought the State a good State to be born in and to emigrate from" and so came "clear to the very front," stopping on the way for a time in Indiana, where he became a member of the Old School Presbytery of Logansport. From Monticello, Illinois, he came early in 1839, to Bloomington (Muscatine) and upon the 6th day of July, 1839, organized the second Presbyterian Society of the Territory. This society did not affiliate with

either wing of the Presbyterian Church until nearly three years after its organization. Mr. Stocker continued to minister to them from 1839 to 1845. A large portion of his people left the church and entered into relations with the New School body in 1842.

Mr. Stocker is described as a small, light built man, genial, affable, and always at home with any proper company, always made all about feel that he was no burden to them. "Mrs. Stocker was a tall, slim, strong-minded woman, haughty and aristocratic, so far as she was able to be, but very much of a lady to those she considered her equals."

Mr. Stocker held services all over the country and for three years he had a monopoly of the preaching. He died in 1848, in Muscatine, though he had been out of active service for three years.

Mrs. Stocker survived her husband a few years, supporting herself by teaching school in the old energetic way.

Soon after the organization of the Bloomington society, Rev. Launcelot G. Bell took part in organizing the church of Kossuth, August 4th, 1839, and also one at Mt. Pleasant, April 25th, 1840, and at Iowa City in August, 1840. Mr. Bell seems to have been quite prominent in Presbyterian circles till the time of his death, in 1868.

He preached the opening sermon at the organization of the first Presbytery of Iowa at Muscatine, November 6th, 1840. He was moderator of the Synod of Iowa, which was organized at Muscatine, October 14th, 1852 and also moderator of the Synod of Southern Iowa, organized at Fairfield, October 8th, 1857.

For several years he was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Fairfield. From 1850 to 1853, Mr. Bell was principal of a Female Academy in Fairfield, and at the same time acted as pastor of the churches at Shiloh and Libertyville. In the year 1864, he had removed to Monmouth, Illinois, and was without a charge.

Mr. Bell was a zealous advocate of parochial schools of a

high grade and thought the church committed a grave mistake in not making an effort to establish such schools in Iowa.

In the later years of his life he visited Iowa in the interest of a school which his son-in-law, Rev. O. J. King, was endeavoring to establish in southwest Iowa.

Until 1853, the Presbyterian churches of Iowa were under the supervision of the Synod of Illinois. Mr. Bell was delegate from the Presbytery of Iowa in 1842 and 1848. Closely associated with Rev. L. G. Bell in the organization of the Presbytery of Iowa, November 6th, 1840, were Rev. Michael Hummer, Rev. J. M. Fulton and Rev. Enoch Mead.

Rev. John Stocker came to the Presbytery from Logansport, Indiana, and Rev. Salmon Cowles from the Presbytery of St. Clairsville, Illinois. Rev. Salmon Cowles probably did more missionary work than any other clergyman of his time. He began as a missionary in Alabama as early as 1821. He must have been somewhat advanced in years when he came to the Territory of Iowa.

In 1846, Mr. Cowles is reported as in the employ of the Home Missionary Board, whose faithful servant he had been for several years (since 1840 at least). He then had charge of twelve stations with an aggregate membership of one hundred and sixty-six. The next year, still an itinerant, he entered upon another field with a membership of thirty-two. The next year he looked after eleven stations, including the town of Marion, with a total membership of eighty-one.

In 1853, he was settled as pastor of Unity Church, Wapello county. Two years later he assumes the oversight of the academy at West Point, in connection with Rev. W. C. Hollday—Mr. Cowles also supplying the church—the first organized in Iowa. The school was not prosperous, though Mr. Cowles was sanguine of its ultimate success. He died at West Point, 1868.

He is spoken of as a man of great earnestness, industry and perseverance. He was a most efficient instrument in planting Presbyterianism in Iowa.

At the organization of the Iowa Presbytery, churches were reported at Burlington, Ft. Madison, Round Prairie, Davenport, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa City, Spring Creek and Rockingham. The years immediately following the second Black Hawk Purchase (1837) were specially fruitful in church building by all denominations.

In 1841, there were twelve churches and six ministers.

In 1842, there were eighteen churches and seven ministers.

A New School Presbytery was organized, April 28th, 1842, called Des Moines Presbytery, with four ministers enrolled, viz: Rev. W. W. Woods, Rev. W. C. Rankin, Rev. Charles R. Fisk and Rev. James A. Clark. At this meeting Rev. A. T. Rankin was received from the Presbytery of Cincinnati. The names of churches are not mentioned.

The Iowa Presbytery had:

In 1843, nine ministers and twenty-two churches.

In 1844, eight ministers and twenty-one churches.

In 1845, nine ministers, and twenty-six churches.

In 1846, eight ministers and twenty-eight churches.

In 1847, nine ministers and twenty-six churches.

In 1848, eleven ministers and twenty-nine churches.

In 1849, fourteen ministers and twenty-nine churches.

In 1850, thirteen ministers and thirty-two churches.

In 1851, eleven ministers and twenty-two churches.

In 1852, six ministers and thirteen churches only were reported, but this year being the year of the organization of the Synod of Iowa, no delegates were sent to the Synod of Illinois.

At the first annual meeting of the Synod of Iowa, three Presbyteries, Iowa, Cedar and Des Moines, reported twenty-five ministers and forty-three churches.

The clergymen most prominent in the history of Presbyterianism before the organization of the Synod of Iowa, in addition to those already named, were: Revs. F. A. Pratt, J. C. Sharon (deceased 1869), James S. Fullerton (deceased 1874), J. D. Mason, James G. Shinn, John M. Fulton, Thomas H. Dinsmore, John Hudson, Samuel McCune, Joshua T. Phelps,

D. V. Smock, R. T. Dinsmore (deceased 1854). Justice T. Umsted.

All are reported as connected with the Old School wing of the church. About the time of the organization of the New School Presbytery. Congregationalism obtained a standing in the Territory of Iowa, and drew to its membership many Presbyterians of New School tendencies.

Two Presbyterian churches existed in Iowa City. Old School holding its meetings in the Assembly Chamber of the State Capitol—New School occupying for the same purposes the Senate Chamber. During the summer, when doors were left open, the clergymen faced each other and it was humorously remarked by one "now we begin to see eye to eye."

On the subject of education, there had been on the part of Presbyterian clergymen from their first coming to the Territory decided interest, as has been already stated. The school at West Point was discontinued when the Synod withdrew its favor transferring the same to what is known as Lenox Institute. at Hopkinton. Delaware county. Parsons College followed the Female Seminary at Fairfield.

While the school at West Point grew into "Des Moines College" Rev. J. C. Sharon was Professor of Languages and Rev. T. H. Dinsmore Professor of Mathematics. In 1853 the number of professors was increased by addition of Rev. F. B. Dinsmore.

Coe College at Cedar Rapids is under Presbyterian control.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

IN THE TERRITORY OF IOWA. 1838-1846.

WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.

Prior to the organization of the Territory of Iowa. July 4th. 1838. a few Congregational clergymen had visited the "Black Hawk Purchase," which was first a part of Michigan Territory. 1834-5. and afterwards of Wisconsin Territory. 1836-7.

They were the Rev. Wm. P. Apthorp, Rev. Asa Turner, Rev. Julius A. Reed. These clergymen were natives of New England, and graduates of Yale College. They brought to the interior of the continent those principles and institutions of christianity which the Pilgrim Fathers two centuries earlier brought over the ocean and planted in the then wilderness of the new world. Rev. Asa Turner wrote to some brethren whom he invited to this work: "Come with the spirit of your Pilgrim Fathers, and plant their principles in this rich soil. Do not be ashamed of your mother as soon as you cross the Alleghanies, as many of our good brethren are. The principles of church government planted on Plymouth Rock are, in my apprehension, the same as those taught by the Savior and His apostles, and I am free to wish they might spread over this great valley."

The first Congregational Church in Iowa was organized at Denmark, Lee county, May 5th, 1838, then Wisconsin Territory.

Rev. Asa Turner and Rev. Julius A. Reed, gave all their after lives to the planting of the gospel in Iowa, and their ashes rest in its soil, the former living to the age of eighty-six years, the latter to eighty-one years. Rev. Reuben Gaylord came to Iowa in 1838, and Rev. Zerah K. Hawley in 1839; they were natives of Connecticut, and also graduates of Yale. Rev. Charles Burnham, a native of New Hampshire, Rev. John C. Holbrook, a native of Vermont, Rev. Oliver Emerson and Rev. Allen B. Hitchcock, natives of Massachusetts, came in 1841. All the above named clergymen are deceased with the exception of the Rev. Dr. Holbrook, pastor for seventeen years at Dubuque, who recently preached on his eighty-sixth birthday, January 7th, 1894, with much of his former vigor, at Stockton, California.

At the call of the Rev. Asa Turner, pastor at Denmark, eleven students in the Theological Institution at Andover, Massachusetts, of the class of 1843, organized an "Iowa Band," and came to Iowa, nine, in 1843, and two in 1844.

They were, in the order of age, Harvey Adams, Edwin B. Turner, Daniel Lane, Erastus Ripley, James J. Hill, Benjamin A. Spaulding, Alden B. Robbins, Horace Hutchinson, Ephraim Adams, Ebenezer Alden, Jr., William Salter. They were all college graduates. Rev. William A. Thompson came in 1843 from the Theological Department of Yale College. Rev. David Knowles, the first Welsh preacher in Iowa, came in 1845.

Such were the men, with a few others, whose stay was only transient, that laid the foundations of the churches of the Congregational order in Iowa. They were the earnest advocates of education, of temperance, of the moral order of human life, and of the abolition of slavery. They identified religion with intelligence, with virtue, with liberty, with righteousness of life, with the bettering of the world. In their labors they faced opposition and endured hardness. They began their work in humility and poverty. They worshiped God in the cabins of the pioneers, in barns and log school-houses, in blacksmith shops, in groves under the dome of the sky. From those beginnings, and from similar sacrifices and toils of the pioneer clergy of other denominations, has come the miracle of Time, this advanced commonwealth of Iowa, rich already in the best institutions of modern civilization, richer still in hope and promise for times afar.

"The General Association of the Congregational Churches and Ministers¹ of Iowa" was organized at Denmark, November 6th, 1840, with Rev. Asa Turner as Moderator.

Successive meetings were held as follows during territorial days:

¹The Congregational clergy seem to be distinguished for longevity and for long pastorates. Of those named by Dr. Salter as here in territorial days, Ephraim Adams, Harvey Adams, John C. Holbrook, Alden B. Robbins, William Salter, are still living.

Dr. Robbins is residing at Muscatine, whose church he served as pastor for fifty years.

Dr. Salter is now in his forty-ninth year as pastor of the church at Burlington. Dr. Salter was pastor at Maquoketa from 1843 to 1846. J. L. P.

April 30th, 1841, Fairfield, Asa Turner.	Moderator.
Nov. 4th, 1841, Hartford (Danville) Julius A. Reed.	..
May 19th, 1842, Davenport, Julius A. Reed.	..
October 6th, 1842, Brighton, Charles Burnham.	..
April 13th, 1843, Denmark, Charles Burnham.	..
Sept. 14th, 1843, Iowa City, John C. Holbrook.	..
October 3rd, 1844, Brighton, Reuben Gaylord.	..
June 12th, 1845, Muscatine John C. Holbrook	..
June 4th, 1846, Dubuque, Daniel Lane.	..

Of eighty-eight clergymen still connected with Ministerial Associations of the State, whose date of ordination is known, eleven have been in the ministry *more than fifty years* and one, Rev. M. N. Miles, for nearly sixty years.

Colleges under Congregational control are, Iowa College at Grinnell and Tabor College at Tabor.

The organ of the denomination in the State is "*Congregational Iowa*," published at Grinnell.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

BY JAMES DAWSON, WASHINGTON, IOWA.

THE first organizations of this church were under the title of Associate Reformed Church, or Associate Presbyterian Church. The name was not changed to United Presbyterian until 1855.

The Associate Presbyterian Church had six organizations in Iowa previous to 1846.

1. The Pisgah Church, at Crawfordsville, Washington county, organized October 14th, 1838. Its first pastor was Rev. William Smith, 1841-1849.

2. Birmingham Church, Van Buren county, organized 1841. First pastor was Rev. D. Lindsay, 1842-1854.

3. Morning Sun (Virginia Grove) Church, organized 1841. First pastor was Rev. J. Duff, 1844-1847.

4. Washington Church, organized October 14th, 1841. with eleven members. First pastor was Rev. G. C. Vincent, 1841-1847. Mr. Vincent preached the first sermon ever heard in Washington, February 7th, 1841.

5. Columbus City Church was organized 1844. Its first pastor was Rev. W. H. Andrew, 1848-1851.

6. Pleasant Valley Church (Dutch Creek Association), organized 1846. First pastor was Rev. J. T. Tate, 1854-1870. Rev. John Scott labored also in these churches.

The *Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church* had three organizations in the Territory of Iowa:

1. New London. 2. Washington. 3. Brighton. The clergymen were Rev. Wm. Graham, Rev. S. F. Vannatta. Rev. — Sturgeon and Rev. — Patterson.

Later, churches appear as follows: Keokuk Associate Reformed, 1853, with Rev. Wm. Bayse as pastor, 1853-1861.

Keokuk Associate, 1855, with James Brown, D. D., as pastor, 1856-1875.

The *United Presbyterian Church* was organized at Washington in 1855, the successor of the Associate Church, organized 1841. Rev. S. F. Vannatta ministered to this church and the Brighton Church, 1855-1863.

CHURCH EDIFICES.

The Associate Congregation of Washington (now First United Presbyterian Congregation) erected a building in 1842 at a cost of about two hundred dollars. The first sermon heard in Washington a year before, was delivered in a room sixteen feet square and all persons living within five miles were present and found plenty of room, and your humble servant led the singing without either pipe organ, flute or fiddle.

Some years later a second edifice was erected, costing one thousand dollars and this has given place to one costing sixteen thousand dollars.

The Associate Reformed Church (now second U. P. Church) erected a church edifice in 1856, which is now replaced by one costing fifteen thousand dollars.

But with these evidences of prosperity, we recall early days in which both ministers and people were compelled to practice much self-denial in order to sustain their churches.

As an illustration of what economy will do—Rev. G. C. Vincent came to Washington in 1841, without any money in his pocket. He preached two-thirds of his time at Washington and one-third at Grandview, upon a yearly salary of three hundred dollars. When he left us in 1847, he paid all his debts and carried with him the sum of six hundred dollars, saved after supporting his family. The membership increased during these seven years from eleven to one hundred and twenty-eight.

Mr. James Dawson, to whom we are indebted for the above facts has been a resident of Washington county for fifty-five years. He has been a ruling elder in the church for fifty-three years and is the only living elder elected as early as 1841. His election was upon the day of the organization of his church, October 14th, 1841.

HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF FRIENDS IN THE TERRITORY OF IOWA, WITH SOME SUBSEQUENT INCIDENTS.

BY LAWRIE TATUM.

THE first Friends who immigrated to the Territory which became the State of Iowa in 1846, appear to have been Isaac Pigeon and family, who located in Henry county, in 1835, near where Salem was subsequently built. He was soon followed by Henry W. Joy; Gideon, Thomas and Stephen Frazier; Stephen, John and Nathan Hocket and their families; also Wm. Hammer and others, all of whom located in that vicinity in 1835.

In eighth month, 1837, they commenced holding religious service in the dwelling house of Henry W. Joy.

Thomas Frazier was their first minister. In sixth month, 1839, a meeting-house was used for church purposes. It was made of hewed logs, twenty-two by forty-four feet, divided into two rooms with sliding partition.

While Iowa was still a Territory, Cedar Creek and East Grove meetings were organized a few miles from Salem. Joseph D. Hoag was the minister at East Grove.

The prominent Friends during those early years were, Thomas Frazier, Joseph D. Hoag, Elwood Ozbun, Seborn Dorland and Reuben Dorland. The latter was a prominent school teacher, exerting an influence that is felt to this day.

The next settlement of Friends appears to have been at Pleasant Plain, Jefferson county, to which place William Pickerehl and family moved in 1837. In 1839 and 1840 he was joined by Isaiah Hinshaw, Amos Hoskins, John Jones, John Beals, Wm. Pickering, Jesse Arnold, Phineas Huston, Joseph Roberts and their families. By 1846 there were further additions of John Andrews, Jonathan McConnell, and their families, with a number of others. Lydia McConnell was their first minister. All of the above were prominent in church affairs; also Benjamin C. and Mary Andrews. Of later years the latter was an efficient clerk of the Women's Yearly Meeting of Friends.

They commenced holding church service in their private houses in 1840. In early spring of 1841, they built a meeting-house of hewed logs, eighteen by twenty feet, with clapboard roof.¹ The room was warmed with charcoal burned in the center on a square of earth left without flooring.

The first Friend who located in Mahaska county was Jesse Arnold, who took "a claim" fifth month, first, 1843, the day that the "New Purchase" was opened for settlement. A month or two later, Wm. Powell, Thomas Stafford, and Brantley Stafford settled in the same vicinity, near where Os-

¹Clapboards were a kind of shingles split out of native timber three feet long. Two layers were placed on together, so as to break joints, and they were usually kept to their place with heavy poles placed on them.

kaloosa was afterwards located. In 1844, David Crispen settled in the same vicinity.

The first meetings were held in Thomas Stafford's house (a double log-cabin) in 1845. They had no resident minister, and the meetings were sometimes held in silent waiting upon the Lord, and their spiritual strength was renewed. Joseph D. Hoag, a minister from Salem, visited them in the autumn of 1845. As the women filled the house, a large fire of logs was made on the outside, and the men stood around it. The minister stood in the door and preached the first Quaker sermon in Mahaska county. Subject, *The Fall of Man and Restoration through Christ*. Agnes Sopher was their first resident minister. A meeting-house was built in 1847 or 1848.

Oskaloosa has since become an important center for Friends. The yearly meeting-house and Penn College have been located there.

In 1844, Lawrie Tatum located near where Springdale now is in Cedar county. John H. Painter and family with Stephen Dean located there in 1845. Religious service was not held until 1849. J. A. Grennell was the first minister there. It became a large settlement of Friends. It is probable that there were a few other settlements of Friends in the Territory, but the limited time for procuring the history of them, has prevented the writer from ascertaining the facts.

Up to the present time some of the most influential and prominent members of the church have been David Hunt, Elwood Ozbun, Joseph D. Hoag, Lindley M. Hoag, Mary Pinkham, Rodema Newlin, John Henry Douglas, Charles Hutchinson, John Bond, John Y. Hoover, John Pennington, Matilda Adkinson, Isom P. Wooton, Lawrie Tatum, Benjamin Trueblood, Absalom Rosenburger, and Barclay Hinchman.

According to the United States census of 1890, there were seventy-four church organizations of Friends in Iowa; seventy-three church edifices, with seating capacity of 19,795; value of church property \$102,632; membership, 8,146. The present membership is probably nine thousand.

Iowa yearly meeting of Friends is held in Oskaloosa in the fore part of ninth month. The first session was held in 1863. Delegates of men and women are appointed by quarterly meetings to attend, but it is a mass-meeting. Ministers and lay members, men and women are all entitled to a voice in the meeting. Men and women are alike eligible to the ministry when the church believes that they are called of God to the service.

In 1868, the subject of making an effort to do something for the benefit of the Indians was brought before Iowa yearly meeting, and a small committee was appointed to have the subject in charge. The yearly meeting proposed to the other yearly meetings of Friends in the United States to appoint committees to unite with them in considering the subject, and take such action as might seem best. After other yearly meetings appointed their committees, they met and canvassed the subject, and then asked an interview with President Grant in the spring of 1869, which he courteously granted. They then suggested to him to take into consideration the propriety of appointing religious men for Indian agents, rather than mere politicians, with the thought that a religious agent would, so far as practicable, surround himself with religious employees, and the Indians be honestly dealt with, so far as the authority of the agents extended, which had not always been the case in Indian agencies.

After hearing their plea he said, "gentlemen, your advice is good; I accept it. Now give me some names of Friends for Indian agents, and I will have them appointed." This prompt action of President Grant was unlooked for by the committee, and after considering the subject, they responded to his wish.

The Central Superintendency comprising the Indians in Kansas, and the wilder tribes of the Indian Territory, numbering seventeen thousand in all, was placed under the charge of Friends. Enoch Hoag of Muscatine, Iowa, was appointed superintendent, and under him were nine agents. Two of these, Brinton Darlington and Lawrie Tatum were of Iowa.

The former had charge of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency in central western part of Indian Territory. The latter was assigned to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency in the southwestern part of the Territory. This was the commencement of "The Peace Policy" of President Grant.

The result was so satisfactory that the President requested other churches to make nominations for the Indian service. Consequently nearly, or quite all of the Indian agents in the various Territories were members of the prominent religious denominations during his administration.

CHURCH OF UNITED BRETHREN.

W. M. BEARDSHEAR, D. D.

THE first organization in Iowa was made in the house of Mr. Edgington in Henry county, the fourth Sunday of October, 1841.

Rev. John Burnes had settled in Lee county as early as 1836 and preached occasionally as opportunity offered.

In the same year Rev. Christian Troup settled in Linn county, and preached among the settlers, as circumstances would allow. These men were not regularly settled pastors, but served as missionaries. They may be considered as the first pastors in our church history in Iowa.

The first house for public worship was erected some time between 1844 and 1850, according to Rev. W. L. Shuey, but the exact date and location can not be ascertained.

Western College at Toledo was founded in December, 1850 at Western and afterwards removed to Toledo.

There is no denominational organ published in Iowa. The *Religious Telescope*, published at Dayton, Ohio, is the accredited organ.

UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

REV. C. E. PERKINS.

THE First Universalist Society of Iowa City¹ was organized November 6th. 1841. at the house of Edward Foster.

The first pastor was Rev. A. B. Gardiner. He was succeeded by Revs. Messrs. Libby, Kelso, Peck, Bunn, Westfall, Weedhouse, Sanford, Francis, Kinney and Miss Chapin. How many of this list were in charge of the church during territorial days. I am unable to say.²

GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

THE Synod of this church, embracing parts of Illinois and Missouri, and Iowa was organized in 1854, with four pastors.

They have now a Theological Seminary at Dubuque, a College at Clinton and a Normal School at Waverly. The Synod is composed of more than sixty churches.

MORMON CHURCH.

THESE people reside at Lamoni, Decatur county. Their origin dates back to Nauvoo, Illinois, in the year 1846. They removed from Nauvoo to Wisconsin and thence to Plano, Illinois, thence to Iowa in 1883. Their leader was Joseph Smith, Jr. So far as known, all members are monogamists.

¹So far as can be learned, this was the first society in the Territory of Iowa.

²From other sources, it is learned that Mr. Gardiner began services here as early as 1839 and that his immediate successor was a Rev. Wm. Fisher, who was pastor when the brick church was erected corner of Iowa Avenue and Dubuque street, and remained till 1844 and was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Westfall. The others named were pastors at a later date or were supplies for a brief time.

JEWISH CHURCH,

No congregation has been traced to territorial days. Solomon Lyons, Esq., of Keokuk, reports a Benevolent Society organized at Keokuk, 1856, and that Davenport had a synagogue at an earlier date. In 1862, under Rabbi Rosenthal permanent quarters were erected at Keokuk.

METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH.

ORGANIZED at Iowa City, May 4th, 1841. House of worship erected 1841.

Further information not obtainable, except that the church edifice passed into the hands of the Christian Church and was taken down a few years since.

AMISH MENNONITES.

THIS people settled in Iowa in 1846. Their first church was organized at Amish in 1857 and their first pastor was Elder Jacob Swartzendruber.

UNITARIAN CHURCH.

THE earliest organization was effected at Keokuk in 1853.

AMANA SOCIETY.

THIS organization came into Iowa in the year 1855.

ENGLISH LUTHERAN CHURCH.

No congregation organized before 1846.

